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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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19 November 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

NORWAY, GDR DISCUSS RESTITUTION OF CONFISCATED PROPERTY

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 2 Oct 84, 5 Oct 84

[Article by N. M. Udgaard: "Norway Demands a Billion from the GDR"]

[2 Oct 84 p 3]

[Text] On Tuesday Norway begins a new round of negotiations with the GDR on millions in compensation for Norwegian property that was confiscated in East Germany after the war -- and Wednesday Finland will sign a compensation agreement with the GDR, the first nonsocialist country to do so.

The breakthrough for the Finns came a few weeks ago and without doubt has to do with the fact that GDR leader Erich Honecker will leave in two weeks for his first official visit to Finland. Among nonsocialist countries in Europe he has earlier only visited Austria. Besides this, the Finnish demand was relatively small, a fact which also has made it easier to reach an agreement.

Norway has now -- together with several other Western countries -- negotiated with the GDR for more than ten years on compensation for Norwegians' property, factories, stocks, and bank accounts that were in Germany at the time of capitulation in 1945 and that later were taken over first by the Russians and then by the authorities in the GDR.

"It is a matter of 90 Norwegian demands, many of which are in the millions," Ambassador Gunnar Haerum of the Foreign Office Legal Department said to AFTENPOSTEN. He will head negotiations for Norway Tuesday and Thursday. Haerum can in the meantime not give any information about the total demand for compensation, because the negotiations have not reached the stage where the exact amount can be figured out. The majority of the Norwegian demands are relatively small.

Complicated demands for documentation must be met by both sides. It must be decided in which currency the compensation is to be calculated -- how does one evaluate the German "Reichsmark" of the period before 1945? -- and the question of interest for capital development in these almost forty years must be cleared up.

Norway has brought forth quite a few more demands than the Finns, and our negotiations have hardly come so far that a breakthrough is probable soon.

It was not until May 1974, a short time after Norway had established diplomatic relations with the GDR, that the first round of negotiations took place. The other Western countries also recognized the GDR at that time, and in some cases quite extensive negotiations on compensation began with these countries. After a while, the GDR accepted the fact that it had a responsibility to compensate, but the parties have disagreed on how the amounts should be calculated. A lack of exchange, which at times has been acute, has also caused the GDR to be very hesitant in these questions -- until the solution that has just come for the Finns.

Norway has discussed compensation with the GDR about once a year. The ninth round is now taking place in Berlin. The last time the negotiators met was in Oslo in January of this year -- incidentally the first meeting outside of East Berlin. This year several East German technical ministers have visited Norway, and it is known that the GDR also wants to expand political contacts through return visits from Norway. This also seems to promise that there is interest on the East German side in getting the compensation question out of the way.

[5 Oct 84 p 11]

[Text] "'Good progress' has been made in the negotiations with the GDR this week on compensation for Norwegian property that was confiscated in 1945," Norway's ambassador in East Berlin, Per Borgen, said to AFTENPOSTEN. The ninth round of these technically very complicated negotiations was concluded in East Berlin Thursday. The next round will be held in Oslo in the second quarter of next year.

In the last round, Norway and the GDR practically finished the extensive documentation work necessary to determine both what there was of Norwegian property in 1945 in what is now the GDR, and which people today can now lay claim to such property. Thursday the parties will begin with the principal compensation problems that have been raised, and this will probably be the main theme for the next round of negotiations.

All in all, 90 Norwegian demands have been made; many of them are in the millions. But most of them are of relatively modest size.

In the headline over AFTENPOSTEN'S article on compensation in the morning edition of 2 October, "Demands a Billion" was a mistake. It should have said, "Demands Millions".

9124

CSO: 3639/12

AWP CC MEMBER READS HOXHA MESSAGE TO BRIGADE

AU281757 Tirana ATA in English 1730 GMT 28 Oct 84

[Text] Tirana, 28 Oct (ATA)--Today, the people of the District of Lushnja celebrated enthusiastically the 40th anniversary of the creation of the 10th Shock Brigade at the rally organized on this occasion, Spiro Koleka, member of the Central Committee of the party, read out the greeting of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed to the former partisans and cadres of the 10th shock brigade on occasion of the 40th anniversary of its creation.

On 29 October, 1944, in those days of the glorious national liberation war, the greeting says among others, when our people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Albania was dealing heavy blows to the German invaders and the traitors to the country, there, in the Karbunara which was closely linked with the party, your brigade was formed with brave partisans, who came from the fierce battles and victorious over the enemies in different fightings.

As soon as it was formed, the 10th Brigade took the fighting task of a great importance, that, together with the other partisans units, to take part in the struggle for the liberation of the capital. In the conditions of difficult weather and terrain during the march, it accomplished this task self-sacrificingly and with a high responsibility, by attacking and dealing lethal blows especially to the Nazi convey that was coming from Elbasan to reinforce the German garrison, which was experiencing its last days in Tirana.

The fighting road of the 10th Shock Brigade, just like all the other partisan brigades, who construct and safeguard the victories of socialism, under the leadership of our glorious party. The heroism of the brave partisans of your brigade, who laid down their life for the liberation of the country, and of the former partisans of your brigade who fell heroically after the liberation in the struggle against the enemies of the new state power, are recalled and will be recalled by you and our entire people.

November 29, 1944 the greeting continues, marks the end of the indescribable sufferings and hardships for the Myzeqe inhabitants just like for all our people. For the first time in history, the struggle of the oppressed, the blood of the sons and daughters of Lushnja and all Myzeqe, who fought in the ranks of the partisan army throughout the country, did not go in vain.

The national liberation war brought the freedom of our entire people, it made the oppressed Myzeqe man master of his destinies. The former Myzeqe of marshes and huts without chimney, where the bey suck the blood of the poor farmer and malaria played havoc among the people, has become today a prosperous plain with a modern agriculture. With the magnificent victories scored in all the fields of life through the mental and physical work and the sweat of the people led by the party, we go proudly and full of achievements to the great jubilee year of the 40th anniversary of the liberation. The hitherto great successes in production, education and culture and in the defence of the country make us confident and multiply our forces to march as always confident on the road of socialism, the greeting says in conclusion.

CSO: 2020/19

ALBANIA

HOXHA GREETINGS TO WOMEN'S UNION

AU041423 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 4 Nov 84

["Greetings of Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed to the former delegates to the 1st Congress of the Antifascist Women's Union of Albania (AWVA)"--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 4 Nov (ATA)--Dear comrades, mothers, sisters, former delegates to the 1st Congress of the Antifascist Women's Union of Albania.

I greet you wholeheartedly on the occasion of the marked event, the 40th anniversary of your first congress.

You, representatives of the women of the entire Albania, who came from the partisan battles, from the illegal war and from the liberated villages and towns, gathered in the city of Berat 40 years ago to confirm once again with full voice your determination to loyally pursue the road indicated by the party till the end and to proclaim the objectives of your revolutionary organisation, the complete liberation and the construction of the homeland ruined from the fierce struggle against the foreign occupiers and the local traitors.

With the call of the party, you fighters of the first ranks of the suffering but heroic Albanian mothers and women, rose against the century-long oppression and fought side by side with the men, your sons and brothers, in the great national liberation war. This legendary war, led by the party which overthrew the old world and brought the freedom to the peoples liberated also the Albanian woman, carried into reality the last will of the daughters who fell on the altar of the freedom, the will of Zonja Curre, Margarita Tutulani, Bule Naipi and Persefoni Koke Dhima, Shenjaze Juka, Mine Peza and of many other women and daughters, it made reality of the ideal cherished by all our mothers and daughters, who, amidst the savage terror and violence of the enemies, opened the doors of their houses and turned them into shelters for the fighters, for freedom, took up arms, joined the partisan ranks and rushed into attack against the Nazi fascist occupiers and the local traitors.

The convening of the First Congress of the Antifascist Women's Union of Albania, after the proclamation of the provisional democratic government, which legalised the equal rights of the women with the man in the political and social fields was important not only for the woman, but for our entire people

as well. This was the first national assembly of the woman in our thousand year long history, where your voice echoed powerfully.

After the proceedings of the congress, you former delegates were distributed like sparkles [as received] throughout the country, to put into life the decisions adopted, to hurl the masses of women and girls in the struggle for the complete liberation, the reconstruction of the country and the construction of the new society. With the all-sided support of the party and power, you rose on feet against the century long darkness and illiteracy, against every obstacle and difficulty and marched on the road illuminated by the party, you became fighters for the new life, to engage the masses of women in production and in political-social activities. Your figure heightened alongside the big strides of the socialist society which won over centuries, because the teachings of the party, the last will of the martyrs, has been inculcated in your minds and hearts.

Today, after 40 years of major wars and efforts for the construction of socialism, the party feels a legitimate pride for the Albanian woman, who militates, thinks and pours her sweat on all the fronts of work and production, in industry and agriculture, in science and culture, sparing nothing for the new happy life created on our own forces. In struggle for her further emancipation, the Albanian woman is affirming her personality with each passing day in every field and sector of the political and social activity of the country. With her work and capabilities, she not only takes part actively in the construction of socialism and the defence of the homeland but she is also a very good mother and educator of the younger generation with the teachings of the party.

Dear comrades, a few days separate us from the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland, for which, old and young, are mobilised to see to with as many achievements as possible, therefore, let us enhance the militant spirit to realise the tasks laid on all fronts of life.

On this joyful occasion, I convey to you my warmest greetings for your festivity.

Yours,

Enver Hoxha

CSO: 2020/19

ALBANIA

ASLLANI READS HOXHA MESSAGE TO PARTISAN BRIGADE

AU290817 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 29 Oct 84

[Text] Tirana, 29 Oct (ATA)--The City of Korce was in celebration yesterday. The Korce people enthusiastically celebrated the 40th anniversary of the formation of the 9th Shock Brigade and the 40th anniversary of the liberation of their city.

Homage was paid and wreaths were laid on the martyrs graves of the city on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the former partisans, the party committee, the executive committee of the People's Council, the mass organizations of the district and the military unit that bear the name of the 9th Shock Brigade.

A grand popular rally was organised in the square of the city.

Attending were also the member of the political bureau of the CC of the party, Comrade Muho Asllani, the vice-chairman of the National Committee of the War Veterans of the Albanian people, Pilo Peristeri and other comrades.

Amidst the great revolutionary enthusiasm of those present, Comrade Muho Asllani read out the greeting of the beloved leader of our party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed to the former partisans, and cadres of the 9th Shock Brigade on occasion of the 40th anniversary of its formation.

On the occasion of two marked events you celebrated today, the 40th anniversary of the formation of the brigade and the liberation of the City of Korce, I greet wholeheartedly you and the entire people of Korce District, who fought and won together with you, the greeting says among others.

During all its fighting road the 9th Shock Brigade waged many battles and scored continuous successes. The joining of the arms and the approachment of the great day of victory multiplied your forces, your courage and determination to carry out with honour the tasks you were charged with by the general staff, therefore you went immediately into attack against the enemies, the Nazi occupier and the local traitors, who were enraged by the inevitable defeat.

Tens of your comrades had fallen in the bloody clashes with the enemies in the districts of Korce, Pogradec and Kolonje and many others had joined the

ranks of the large partisan units of our National Liberation Army. The 20th Shock Brigade was formed with the effectives of your battalions, but the number of the partisans of this brigade, to which you belonged, kept increasing because it had its roots in the people.

With the formation of the brigade you intensified the attacks of the enemy and contributed to the final liberation of the district of Korce and its occupation. Your victories in the fightings waged on the roads to Barmash-Helmas, Korce-Pogradec, in Qafa E Qarrit, in Dvoran and in Bilisht are evidence of your rich experience gained in the heat of the struggle, of the support and close links with the brave and patriotic people of the regions where you operated, evidence of the leadership of the party.

The several day long battle for the liberation of the City of Korce, takes a special place in the history of our national liberation war. During this battle, you, enjoying the allround support of the people, collaborating with the forces of the 2nd and 20th Shock Brigades, gave numerous examples of courage and heroism. Through the swift attack against the enemies in the town you shortened their days and put an end to their monstrous crimes, did not allow the Hitlerite beasts to turn your beautiful city into ruins, barred the way to any effort by the traitorous chiefs for political manoeuvring with the foreign reaction and brought to the patriotic people of the District of Korce the long-expected freedom for which they had made many sacrifices and shed much blood.

The liberation found our country poor and ruined, the greeting continues, but the party and people set to the constructive work with enthusiasm, without seeking a hand-out from anyone, without letting themselves be deceived by the enslaving aids that the British and the Americans offered them allegedly without interest. The freedom and the construction of socialism in our country are our deed, that is why, we are justly proud of them and determined to make any sacrifice to defend them. In socialist Albania, which this year celebrates the 40th anniversary of that glorious epoch that the people call the epoch of the party, transformations incomparable with the past have been made in all the fields of life and the people live joyously, happily and secure. Everything that is constructed and realised bears the seal of the people, is done to their benefit and embodies the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the party, that is why the party and the people are linked together in steel like unity and there is no force in the world capable of breaking it, the greeting concludes.

Those present listened to Comrade Enver Hoxha's greeting with great attention and received it with powerful applause and acclamations.

Then Comrade Muho Assllani greeted those present.

In his speech he said among other things:

Comrade Enver Hoxha spent the early years of his revolutionary activity in your city and recalling those years he says: Korce is dear to me, because here, there are crystalized and formed my social ideas, because here, since

I was a young boy, I found the road I was seeking for, the road that ought to be pursued by every honest boy of our people.

In these 40 years of free happy and socialist life, he underlined, our people with the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other, under the leadership of the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, carried out major transformations in all the fields, persistingly waging the class struggle against the internal and external enemies.

The speech of Comrade Muho Asllani was often punctuated by enthusiastic applause and acclamations.

The celebration continued at the families of the inhabitants of Korce City, last night, where the former partisans of the brigade were invited and had a joyful dinner.

CSO: 2020/19

CUKO, OTHERS AT WOMEN'S UNION MEETING

AU041433 Tirana ATA in English 0914 GMT 4 Nov 84

["40th Anniversary of the First Congress of Anti-Fascist Women's Union of Albania Enthusiastically Celebrated--the Greeting of the Beloved Leader of the Party and People Comrade Enver Hoxha Is Welcomed With Great Joy"--ATA headline]

[Excerpt] Tirana, 4 Nov (ATA)--The inhabitants of this City of Berat received on 3 November, with enthusiasm the former delegates to the First Congress of the AWUA that held its proceedings 40 years ago.

Together with the former delegates, present to attend the celebration of this anniversary were also the members of the political bureau and secretary of Central Committee of the party, Comrade Lenka Cuko, the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the party Comrade Foto Cami, the president of the General Council of the AWUA Lumturi Rexha, the Minister of Light and Food Industry Vito Kapo, the Minister of Education and Culture Tefta Cami, the Minister of Agriculture Themie Thomai, and others.

A grand popular rally was organised in the main square of the city.

Amidst the great joy of those present, Comrade Lenka Cuko read out the greeting of the beloved leader of the party and people Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed to the former delegates to the First Congress of the Anti-Fascist Women's Union of Albania, on occasion of its 40th anniversary.

The greeting of Comrade Enver Hoxha was listened to with great attention, it aroused deep emotions and was received with enthusiastic acclamations "party, Enver, we are always ready," then in her speech Comrade Lenka Cuko brought the greetings of the Central Committee of the party.

Her speech was often punctuated by ardent applause and acclamations for the glorious party of labour and our respected leader Comrade Enver Hoxha.

On behalf of the presidency of the General Council of AWUA, the president of this Council Lumturi Rexha spoke.

CSO, 2020/19

BRIEFS

TANZANIAN OFFICIAL VISITS--Comrade Milko Balev received Kimario, Tanzania's minister of internal affairs [title as heard]. In the ensuing talk Comrade Milko Balev briefed the guest on our country's successes in the construction of socialism and on the problems being solved at the moment by the Bulgarian working people. Dwelling on the alarming international situation, Comrade Milko Balev pointed out that now it is necessary that all peace-loving forces throughout the world work toward one goal--protecting peace. After thanking for the hospitality rendered to him, Minister Kimario spoke about his country's socioeconomic development at the present stage. The meeting, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, was attended by Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 30 Oct 84] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1400 GMT on 31 October 1984 adds: "On 31 October the delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania led by Salim in Amour, minister of internal affairs [name and title as heard], departed from Bulgaria. At Sofia airport the delegation was seen off by Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov, and by responsible officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs."]

ZHIVKOV ATTENDS WOMEN'S CELEBRATION--A festive meeting devoted to the 70th anniversary of the organized socialist women's movement in Bulgaria was held at the Georgi Kirkov Hall in the Party House in Sofia tonight. Hundreds of the most active members and veterans of the women's movement attended the meeting. Those present welcomed with prolonged and strong applause Comrades Todor Zhivkov, Milko Balev, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Tanchev, Stanko Todorov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Georgi Atanasov, Petur Dyulgerov, and Emil Khristov. Vera Nacheva, hero of socialist labor, opened the meeting. She read a State Council decree on awarding the Georgi Dimitrov order to the Bulgarian Women's Movement Committee. Comrade Todor Zhivkov, who was given prolonged applause by those present, presented the high distinction to Elena Lagadinova, chairman of the committee. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 26 Oct 84]

BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION--The Bulgarian public celebrated the 70th birthday of General Slavcho Trunski, in Pernik. The Comrades Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Stanko Todorov, as well as comrades in arms, friends, and relatives of Slavcho Trunski attended the festive celebration. Georgi Dimitrov, the chairman of the Okrug People's Council Executive Committee in Pernik, read the decree of the State Council conferring the title "Hero of Socialist Labor" upon General Slavcho Trunski. Comrade Milko Balev presented the golden star of Slavcho Trunski and read a greetings letter from Comrade Todor Zhivkov. [Text] [AU021951 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 2 Nov 84]

FILIPOV RETURNS FROM CUBA--Comrade Grisha Filipov has returned from his friendly visit to Cuba. He led the Bulgarian delegation that took part in the 39th CEMA session. The session adopted long-range and complex measures on cooperation in the spheres of power supply, fuels, and raw materials. Measures were also adopted on further perfecting the organization of multilateral cooperation within the CEMA framework. A communique was adopted, which has been released for publication. It was decided that the next CEMA session will be held in 1985 in Warsaw. Fidel Castro, Cuba's leader read a concluding speech. A meeting of the CEMA Executive Committee also took place. Questions pertaining to organizing the work for implementing the decisions adopted at the 39th session were discussed. A meeting of the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in Planning also took place. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 1 Nov 84]

BRAZILIAN ENVOY DEPARTS--Carlos Alberto Pereira Pinto, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Federative Republic of Brazil to Bulgaria, has departed from our country after completing his tour of duty. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Oct 84 p 6 AU]

INDIAN TRADE UNION OFFICIAL--Sofia, 23 Oct (BTA)--Today Mr Petur Dyulgerov, the chairman of the CC of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, received Mr Indradjit Gupta, [spelling as received] the secretary general of the Indian Trade Union Congress. During the meeting which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere there were discussed some topical issues of the international trade unionist movement and views on bilateral trade unionist cooperation were exchanged. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1900 GMT 23 Oct 84 AU]

BONEV RECEIVES HUNGARIAN OFFICIAL--On 22 October, Stanish Bonev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Committee on Planning, received Gyula Kovacs, deputy chairman of the Hungarian National Planning Office. A talk on coordinating the two countries national plans for the period of 1986-1990 was conducted. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 22 Oct 84 AU]

YAR OFFICIAL VISITS--Sofia, 30 Oct (BTA)--Today Mr Georgi Yordanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Committee for Culture, received Mr Ahmad Husayn al-Marwani, [spelling of surname as received] minister of culture of the Yemen Arab Republic. At the meeting, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, the guest emphasised the great international success of the world writers' forum under the motto "Peace-the Hope of the Planet." [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1344 GMT 30 Oct 84]

AFGHAN POLITBURO MEMBER VISITS--On 29 October Comrade Georgi Yordanov received Gholam Dastagir Panjshiri, member of the Politburo of the Afghan People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Union of Afghan Writers. In the ensuing friendly talk the Afghan guest highly evaluated the results of the Fifth International Writers Meeting, which took place in Sofia, as a remarkable contribution to the struggle for peace and international understanding. The meeting, which took place in a cordial atmosphere, was attended by Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Writers. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 29 Oct 84]

AID TO ETHIOPIA--Sofia, 29 Oct (BTA)--In connection with the grave natural calamity, the exceptionally severe and prolonged drought which has afflicted a large part of Ethiopia's territory, and in view of the distress the population is suffering there, Bulgaria will send gratuitous help in the form of food, medicines and equipment to the value of 12 million leva. The help offered to the Government of Ethiopia includes Bulgarian aircraft to fly food, medicines and other cargoes to the drought-afflicted areas. [Text]
[Sofia BTA in English 1455 GMT 29 Oct 84]

STANKO TODOROV TO GREECE--A delegation of the Bulgarian National Assembly, headed by Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, departed for Greece today. The delegation will pay an official visit to that country at the invitation of the Greek Parliament. The delegation was seen off at Sofia airport by Comrade Pencho Kubadinski, by deputy chairmen of the National Assembly, by deputy ministers of foreign affairs, and by National Assembly deputies. Ioannis Bourloyannis-Tsangarides, ambassador of the Republic of Greece to our country, was also among those present at the airport. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 5 Nov 84]

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DUE--Sofia, 2 Nov (BTA)--The State Council of Bulgaria is convening the Eighth National Assembly at its 15th session due on 26 November 1984. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1720 GMT 2 Nov 84]

ECONOMIC TIES WITH SWITZERLAND--Sofia, 23 Oct (BTA)--Last year's trade between Bulgaria and Switzerland amounted to about 400 million dollars. Since the middle of the last decade there have been in effect a number of industrial cooperation agreements in heavy (?mechanical) engineering and household electrical appliances, the chemical, pharmaceutical and other fields. The Bulgaro-Swiss society seated in Bulgaria, has specialized in manufacturing and trading in writing devices, is functioning successfully. [Excerpt] [Sofia BTA in English 1846 GMT 23 Oct 84 AU]

TRADE PROTOCOL WITH BRAZIL--Sofia, 24 Oct (BTA)--Bulgaro-Brazilian trade last year amounted to 69 million dollars. This figure makes Brazil Bulgaria's biggest trading partner among the countries of Latin America. The protocol signed today on the work of [word indistinct] seventh session of the Bulgaro-Brazilian Commission for Trade, confirms the two sides' mutual wish for bilateral economic ties to become brisker, deeper. The cochairmen of the commission, Mr Spas Georgiev, deputy minister at the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Trade, and Mr Ivan Veloso Silveira Batala, emissary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, are optimistic about the future cooperation, predicting several-fold increase in trade in the coming years. It is planned for trade and economic cooperation to extend into the fields of metallurgy, pharmacy, the electronic industry, geology, transport and other spheres of life, including industrial cooperation to be used as a basis for further development. It is expected that engineering organizations of the two countries will establish contacts and jointly appear at third markets. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1941 GMT 24 Oct 84 AU]

CSO: 2200/33

STEFANAK ATTACKS IMPERIALISM, PRAISES USSR

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Sep 84 p 3

[Speech by Michal Stefanak, CPCZ Central Committee International Affairs Department deputy director: "The Soviet Union and Its Allies--Chief Guarantee for Maintaining Peace in the World"]

[Excerpts] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army, a seminar was held last week which featured Michal Stefanak, deputy director of the International Affairs Department of the CPCZ Central Committee. We are presenting a substantial excerpt from his speech.

Next year will mark 40 years since the victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism. This anniversary will be widely celebrated not only by socialist countries but by all peace-loving forces on our planet. The victory 40 years ago is of epoch-making importance, not only because attempts of imperialism to resolve the historic conflict with socialism by force of arms were defeated and even now are doomed to failure, but also because this victory greatly influenced postwar developments in Europe and the whole world.

In order properly to understand the reasons for the outbreak of World War II, one must go back to the characteristics and analysis of developments at the time in the various countries.

Before the outbreak of World War II, anti-imperialist forces in Europe had spread considerably and consolidated themselves. The first socialist state developed successfully, communist and labor movements expanded and a powerful popular antifascist movement emerged. Nevertheless, at this time imperialism still dominated economics and politics, and the peace-loving forces headed by the Soviet Union were not able to prevent the war, although they succeeded in changing its character.

The war, which began as a battle between two imperialist groupings for world domination, in its consequences had a joint long-term objective aimed at destroying the Soviet Union and all revolutionary forces fighting against fascism and imperialism and for national and social liberation.

In the West we often hear talk (in fact, they are even carrying on some kind of "historical" investigation) to the effect that the Soviet Union aided Hitler's aggressiveness by signing the German-Soviet nonaggression pact. But what is the real truth? Enough has already been written and said about it on the basis of documents which are well known. Nevertheless, I want to emphasize that, because of the Western states' rejection of all Soviet proposals and in view of the fact that all the preparation for Hitler's aggression, which was supported by them, was directed against the Soviet Union, the latter had to find a way at least to gain time to repulse the German attack.

In this situation, which threatened the fate of the Soviet Union and world socialism, the Soviet Government, after exhausting all possibilities, decided to accept the German proposal to conclude a mutual nonaggression pact. This step, which the USSR was forced to take, even though at the time it was not fully understood by all revolutionary forces, was foresighted, as proven by later events. The fact that today bourgeois propaganda is attacking precisely this agreement is not a matter of chance. By its determination, the Soviet Union was able to destroy the anti-Soviet bloc that was developing and gained time to consolidate its defense.

Anti-Sovietism in the policies of the Western powers was the main reason why it was impossible to avert the world war, which finally dragged 61 countries with almost 80 percent of the world's population into its vortex.

Thanks to the great superiority of Germany and the inaction of England and France, there followed successively the defeats of Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. The invasion of France followed.

Great Britain found itself in an extremely difficult situation. Hitler's air force was dropping hundreds of tons of bombs on London. The country saved itself but not with its own forces by any means. Even British historians admit that Hitler did not dare concentrate all his potential on this sector when the Red Army remained in place. The main power of the German Air Force was preparing itself for the Soviet Union.

It is well known that at the time Senator, later U.S. President, H. Truman remarked a few days after fascist Germany invaded the territory of the USSR, "If we see that Germany is winning we will help Russia and if Russia is winning we will have to help Germany so they will slaughter one another as much as possible." Those were the aims of the policies of the Western nations, including the United States, which resulted in such enormous human and material sacrifices and losses for all humanity.

The fact remains that in the end the United States assumed an antifascist stance in the war and joined the anti-Hitler coalition. This action was influenced partly by the entry of Great Britain in the war after the defeat of Poland and partly by the enormous hatred and antagonism of the nations against fascism, and in the United States they really understood that the only guarantee of their own security was war against fascism.

The attack on the USSR by Hitler's Germany raised hopes in people's hearts that they would be spared from the fascist peril. This was true in France, Great Britain, the United States, in all of Europe and even outside it. The entry of the Soviet Union into the war against Hitler's Germany led to further activization of national liberation movements in the subjugated countries of Europe.

In the next part of his report, Comrade Stefanak dealt with the attempts of bourgeois historiography to falsify the truth about the course of the war. He said that today we are witnesses of the falsification of history in the Federal Republic of Germany. He emphasized that the aim of these attempts is to convince persons that it was not the Soviet Union that contributed by decisive means to the destruction of nazism, but rather the "Western democracies." This means that they and no one else are to determine the postwar peacetime order. Consequently, it is considered no sin to call for a revision of the war's results and, if necessary, even "from a position of strength" to take from the Soviet Union what it had "deceitfully appropriated."

It has been a long time since Bonn discussed so openly and at length the "German question," the "reunification of Germany," the right of self-determination for Germans and the fate of "German minorities" in other countries. According to this, all these questions are "open" and "unresolved," as though no Eastern agreements, Helsinki Final Act, or other agreements which determined postwar reality in Europe even existed.

Here is an interesting circumstance: the more absurd the policies of the Washington administration are, the more unrestrained is the language used by representatives of the current governing coalition in the FRG on basic problems of Europe.

Postwar developments created a new situation in Europe. The position of progressive and democratic, peace-loving forces was consolidated and the influence of communist and labor parties increased. In particular, a world socialist system emerged which is developing successfully and changing the balance of forces in the world in favor of peace.

These factors contributed significantly to the breakup of colonialism, and new, independent states entered the world arena as an important factor in the struggle against imperialism and for national independence.

At the same time, the aggressive base of imperialism has not changed even today. Imperialist circles, especially in the United States, ignore the lessons of history and have proclaimed a new "crusade" against socialism and are trying to attain military superiority over the Soviet Union and its allies. They have unleashed and are opening a new round of feverish arming, which is impressed on people, and thus they try to dictate their will from a position of strength over sovereign and independent countries.

The Soviet Union and its fraternal socialist countries consistently advocate the elimination of the danger of war, the cessation of the arms race and the preservation of peace. To this end they consistently use their political,

economic, military and ideological powers. This Leninist peace policy of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, has safeguarded humanity from the crisis of a world war for 40 years.

It does no harm to compare certain things in relation to the United States as the strongest country of the capitalist world. Almost half of the industrial and technological potential of the West is concentrated in the United States. The economic might of the United States serves militarism, arms races and material preparation for the conduct of war. At the same time, the United States, with all its wealth, embodies militarism, aggression and international banditry. The monopolistic bourgeoisie came to the conclusion that the mission of the United States is to impede historic development and obstruct the road of progress for all humanity.

In order to realize their imperialist goals, governing circles in the United States support reactionary and pro-fascist regimes all over the world; by force of arms they liquidate legal governments which do not suit them. All this shows that the governing class of present-day America is taking over the ideology of state terrorism. It is hard to distinguish the claims of U.S. governing circles for world rule and their imperialist policies, ideology and practice of conducting crusades from the mad ideological and geopolitical ideas of German nazism. The basis of both is identical--unbridled imperialism, an ideology of militarism and war, the ideology and practice of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

Beginning in 1945, the United States has been the instigator of or participant in most military conflicts--it initiated fighting actions in various parts of the world--in the Mediterranean Sea area, in the Near East, in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Washington's gross interference in the affairs of sovereign states and preparation for new acts of intervention continue. Washington has openly outlined its goals--to suppress the liberation movements in Latin American countries. It is preparing aggression against Nicaragua, an undeclared war is being waged against patriotic forces in El Salvador and new acts of provocation against Cuba are in the making. Aggressive efforts against Africa, and especially in the Near East, are increasing. Everywhere the network of military bases is expanding for intervention with "rapid strike forces."

The monopolistic bourgeoisie of the United States is charging in all directions. It takes no regard of anyone's interests, not even its allies'. Under the camouflage of the "transatlantic alliance" and the battle against a nonexistent "Soviet threat," the United States continually undermines the state sovereignty and national independence of West European countries, subordinates them with its super-power interests and dictates to them. This is evident in all areas--economic, political, military and intellectual.

A new stage in the development of unequal relations between the United States and Western Europe came when the deployment of first-strike nuclear weapons on the territory of certain NATO countries began.

Many West European political figures realize that U.S. policies are undermining not only their national independence and state sovereignty but also the security of their countries. The super-power policies of Washington toward its allies in NATO are creating great social tremors in these countries. An example that can be cited are the massive antiwar and antimissile movements, which have attained a broad momentum and continue to expand.

Thus the United States is not only not contributing positively to international development but, on the contrary, is a destabilizing factor in global relations. Governing circles in this country are proceeding on the basis that the worse the world situation and the greater the tensions, including the situation in the various world regions, the better it is for American imperialism and the easier it is to assert its imperialist interests.

Therefore, it is obvious that if American imperialism has thus far not succeeded in drawing mankind into a nuclear war, in spite of the efforts of world reaction, the process of liberating nations from the shackles of imperialism and colonialism and consolidating the independence of peoples liberated from slavery is continuing, it is chiefly thanks to the Soviet Union and its socialist allies, thanks to that enormous influence exerted by the Soviet Union and its peace-loving policies on the whole course of present world developments.

The disintegration of the colonial system, the liberation of nations from imperialist slavery, is a historic victory which was achieved by the nations of Asia and Africa under the direct influence of the great success of the Soviet Union in building socialism and communism, thanks to its active support and solidarity.

Because the Soviet Union became a strong, industrially advanced power and created a strong military-economic potential that protects the security of its land and of world socialism, it is able to defend its great achievements. And that is one of the most important factors which determine world power relations, the role and position of the USSR in the international arena.

Thanks to the CPSU and the Soviet people, the situation has substantially changed today in favor of peace and progress. The Soviet people have realized their enormous plans of economic, social and political development and have made of their land a strong state which has brought about approximate parity in the military-strategic area with the United States. It is precisely this historic triumph of true socialism that has forced the United States and other Western countries to realize that peaceful coexistence has become an objective necessity.

Detente sank deep roots into current international relations; it became the subject of a frantic struggle on the part of those inciting nuclear warfare. Even though governing circles in the United States have repudiated detente, the process of detente has proved itself to be quite firm. In spite of tenacious efforts of imperialist reaction in the United States and NATO, detente has retained a certain potential. Proof of this are the positive results of the Madrid meeting, the continuation of dialogue at the Stockholm conference, etc.

To counter the aggressive foreign and military policies of imperialism, the Soviet Union is building a firm policy to preserve and consolidate peace, to consolidate the security of all states and nations. The foreign policy initiatives of the CPSU and the Soviet state are directed toward stabilizing the whole international situation, toward resolving current problems important to life--fettering the arms race, especially nuclear weapons and the cardinal resolution of the disarmament problem. It is hard to specify any question of current world politics in which the Soviet Union would not act with a constructive initiative.

The influence of Soviet foreign political actions is also seen in the fact that they effectively help expose the imperialistic predatory policies of the United States and NATO and thus influence the conscience of the masses everywhere on earth. The broad Soviet initiatives in favor of peace and international security are powerful factors which mobilize the popular masses, even in the imperialist countries themselves, in the struggle against policies of war and aggression and for the elimination of the nuclear threat. Attesting to this is the huge antiwar movement in the West, which is gradually growing from a generally democratic movement to a social one.

Occasionally we hear talk about some kind of special role at the present time for medium and small states, which allegedly must act in order to eliminate the misunderstandings among the superpowers, that is, the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union. This sharpening allegedly began even before the deployment of American first-strike missiles. They say the reason is that detente, in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, had not taken root as deeply in the two superpowers as in small and medium states.

We believe that these are views which dispute or do not resolve the actual basis of the sharpened international situation, caused by the aggressive policies of imperialism directed against the Soviet Union, socialism and the revolutionary progressive and democratic movement in general, in an effort to gain the upper hand over them. At the same time, it is clear that there is a sharp class struggle going on between capitalism and socialism.

The destruction of fascism by the Soviet Army was the beginning of a new stage of development of humanity, a strong reawakening for many nations on the way to freedom and national revival.

There is special significance for our nations in the fact that the day of triumph over fascism was at the same time the day of our liberation. The liberation created conditions favorable for further revolutionary development in our land in the direction of socialism.

The sincere fraternal friendship which was born in the war, and the universal cooperation which since then has been constantly growing among our nations and states, represent the basic certainty which daily permits us to create our socialist present and future under peaceful conditions.

REVIVAL OF FASCISM IN FRG DECRIED

Bratislava NEDELNA PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Sep 84 p 9

[Article by Lubomir Trefny: "Syndrome of Neofascism"]

[Excerpt] With regard to neofascism and neonazism, the Bonn Government finds itself in admirable aural and visual isolation. It even expresses astonishment over the fact that the Soviet Union is upset over the activity of associations which--as the federal government declared, for example, in the case of legalization of the organization of former SS members--allegedly "do not violate by their activity the principles of the West German Constitution." Vladimir Katin, the commentator of the Soviet APN press agency, wrote in this connection: "The revival of revanchist moods in the FRG is observed with special attention and circumspection in the Soviet Union. It is perhaps not necessary to emphasize why this is so. Simply because twice during the lifetime of one generation war came from the German soil to Russia. Because the last war represented a loss of 20 million human lives, 1,710 towns destroyed, 70,000 villages burned down, 32,000 industrial enterprises reduced to ruin... Considering these contexts, is the attention paid to the flourishing of neofascism really so incomprehensible?"

The West German Government is guided by the principle according to which what we deny simply does not exist. And so its representatives deny all sorts of things. Some of them even hastened to declare that they had never seen in the FRG anything resembling a map of Germany with its 1937 borders. It is paradoxical that, shortly beforehand, a report appeared in the press that a new edition of the map precisely with these "historical" borders was being prepared, and that this map was to be included in history and geography textbooks. The illusory hopes of revising the postwar borders in Europe were revived precisely at the moment when American Pershings began to be deployed in the FRG. It can be concluded that this represents an effort to combine the American nuclear missiles with the so-called "German question" into a tough knot, and through it to try to blackmail the Soviet Union and its allies.

The Soviet Union is far from dramatizing the situation in the FRG, although it betrays the effort to give a free hand to the revanchists and neonazis. The highest Soviet representative, Konstantin Chernenko, calmly but emphatically declared that June 1941 will not be repeated and that any aggressor would be properly punished. The Soviet Union has at its disposal everything that is necessary for its and its friends' defense.

In Bonn they keep declaring that the FRG has the most powerful army in Western Europe and that this army has all types of weapons, with the exception of nuclear ones, at its disposal. The revanchists are not yet in power in the FRG. So far. However, where is the guarantee that they will not gradually penetrate the government organs? Where is the guarantee that they will not eventually assume power, when--symbolically speaking--the red light has already been switched off in the country on their road to power? Finally, more than 40 representatives of revanchist centers are sitting directly in the federal parliament at the present time.

On the basis of data published in the West German press itself one can obtain the following picture about the "harmlessness" of the executors of the nazi legacy: there are in the FRG 68 neofascist organizations and a widespread network of revanchist unions and associations, with a total membership of almost 15 million. They control 360 newspapers, with the total number of copies exceeding 1.5 million. One revanchist organization, the so-called Union of Exiles, alone has 2.5 members and comprises more than 20 local unions and 11 local groups. This union also owns periodicals which it publishes and distributes--allegedly in accordance with the West German Constitution--without any outside interference or restrictions.

What is behind the formula "in accordance with the Constitution" is documented by the report of the Bonn correspondent of the Soviet newspaper IZVESTIYA, E. Korolev, who described the atmosphere at the meeting of the so-called Upper Silesian Union at Essen. At the entrance to the conference hall young members of the fascist National Democratic Party distributed leaflets in which you could read in black and white: "The eastern areas as well as the area of the Sudetenland are and will remain German; the FRG Constitution is based on the borders of the German Reich as they existed on 31 December 1937 and calls for their restoration; Germany, with 250 inhabitants per square kilometer, has a much greater population density than Poland, which does not need the German eastern areas." These slogans are eloquent enough to have been cut from Hitler's speeches. And the general atmosphere at the meeting? "If, for example, the inhabitant of another planet appeared in the conference hall," IZVESTIYA wrote, "he would definitely get the impression that World War II was not started by Hitler's Germany, but by the Soviet Union; that it was not the Gestapo who committed atrocities on the territory of the USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries, but the German soliders who were hapless victims of Russians and Poles, and that this was not a meeting of revanchists, but rather of selfless fighters for 'the rights of Germans,' for 'the recovery of the German soil in the East robbed by the Russians, Czechoslovaks, Poles...'" To put it briefly--history turned upside down.

The Bonn Government refuses to see danger in these and similar statements. Danger must be seen, however, by all countries which have signed the Helsinki Final Act. This document, among other things, speaks of the inviolability of the borders of postwar Europe. The Soviet Union is not worried about its frontier or the frontiers of its friends and allies.

However, can the states of Western Europe speak in the same tone, since they less than half a century ago became the victims of dark forces similar to those which are raising their heads in the FRG today? And the general political atmosphere in the FRG makes it possible for them, since, as it was stated by one of the representatives of the revanchist so-called Action Fund: "We used to be dispersed by force, while now we are protected by police."

10501

CSO: 2400/31

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

STROUGAL MESSAGE ON GANDHI DEMISE--Havana--Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier and head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the 39th CEMA Session in Havana, sent the Government of the Republic of India a telegram which states: I have received with great sorrow the news about the sudden demise of Indira Gandhi, prime minister of the Republic of India. Please accept my sincere commiseration over the departure of an outstanding representative of the Indian people and a prominent statesman and political figure recognized by the whole world. We highly appreciate her personal friendship toward the Czechoslovak people and her merits in comprehensively developing mutual friendly relations between Czechoslovakia and India. [Excerpt] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Nov 84 p 7 AU]

CSO: 2400/69

AGITPROP ORGAN OUTLINES KEY TOPICS OF CURRENT CONCERN

Budapest PROPAGANDISTA in Hungarian No 5, 1984 pp 21-28

[Article: "Information about the 1984-1985 Topics of the Lecture Series and Course 'Current Ideological and Political Questions'"]

[Text] In accordance with the 1 March 1983 resolution of the Political Committee, the course "Current Ideological and Political Questions" was begun in the 1983-84 party education year, and the party organizations employed different forms of lecture propaganda on a wider scale. The organization and application of these forms will continue in the 1984-85 party education year.

The Agitation and Propaganda Division of the Central Committee determined the topics recommended for elaboration in the 1984-85 education year. The party organizations develop the topics of individual courses and lecture series independently and with an eye to local political needs and interest. In their organization and operation those views will continue to be valid which were formulated in the article entitled "Lecture Propaganda" in the sixth issue of PROPAGANDISTA 1983.

We ask the propagandists, on the basis of the experiences they have obtained in educational work, to offer assistance to the party organizations in the development of course or lecture series topics and to assure through their high-quality propaganda work the successful operation of the latter. Let them make more courageous use of the course and lecture series materials--those which are appearing and those which have appeared--in the instructional and pedagogical work they perform in other areas of party education.

In the interest of promoting better preparation for the 1984-85 school year we disclose in what follows below the topics recommended by the Agitation and Propaganda Division for the course "Current Ideological and Political Questions" as well as for the lecture series.

Centrally prepared auxiliary materials have already appeared for the majority of topics which figured in the 1983-84 school year; auxiliary materials for other topics will be issued continually starting in September of 1984.

Topics of the course entitled "Current Ideological and Political Questions"

1. International relations and the struggle for peace
2. Thirty years of the Warsaw Pact
3. The labor movement's regenerative capacity and readiness as reflected in the Seventh Congress of the Comintern
4. The policy of the United States towards Eastern Europe
5. The battle of ideologies in the world of today
6. Hungary's economic history as reflected in debates (1945-1983)
7. Long-lasting tendencies and new solutions in the Hungarian economy
8. The operation, basic principles and developmental tasks of our macroeconomic management system
9. Industry's situation and developmental tasks
10. Agriculture's role, developmental possibilities and tasks
11. The role and requirements of international economic relations in the Hungarian economy
12. The economic cooperation of socialist countries in our time
13. Concerning long-range planning of the national economy
14. Some questions about the evolution of socialist ownership
15. Results and tasks of our social and living-standards policy
16. The producer and consumer price system
17. Operation and developmental trends of our political system
18. Evolution of the election system
19. Continuity and regeneration in the policy of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party]
20. Party unity--party democracy
21. Youth and socialism
22. State and churches, Marxist world view and religions in Hungary today
23. Interests and interest relationships in socialism

24. The national and nationality question
25. 1944-45: turning point in the history of our people
26. Attitude toward work in socialism
27. The place and role of trade unions, the principles and methods of their party guidance
28. Principles of our information policy and the practice of their enforcement
29. Current issues of our federal policy

Topics of lecture propaganda

- I. The reality of socialism and prospects for its development
 1. The fundamental difference between socialism and capitalism, the chief areas of their opposition and their possibilities for cooperation
 2. The historical significance of popular democratic revolutions
 3. The effect of socialist countries' situation, strength and initiatives on world development
 4. The dialectics of specific national features and universal norms in the evolution of socialism
 5. The economy's situation and new processes for its growth in the socialist countries
 6. Current questions about strengthening the socialist features of social conditions
 7. Socialist political system and the further development of socialist democracy in our time
 8. Some important questions about the ideological, cultural and scientific life of the socialist countries
 9. Contradictions in socialism; the potential for development of a crisis situation and the condition for surmounting it
 10. The significance of economic, political and ideological cooperation in the development of socialist countries
 11. Changes in and permanent features of the concept of socialism

12. Turbulent debates about the reality and developmental possibilities of socialism in the international communist movement

13. New features of the political and ideological attacks directed against socialism; our arguments with respect to the bourgeois criticism of socialism

14. Experiences of and modern possibilities for the historical development of socialism

II. The historical experiences and lessons of developing socialism in our fatherland

1. Decisive role of the revolutionary transformation begun in 1944-45 in the modern history of our people

2. Establishment of the objective and subjective conditions in selection of the historical path

3. Popular democratic development up to 1956

4. The 1950s in Hungarian historiography

5. The unity of continuity and renewal in the policy of the MSZMP

6. The socialist reorganization of agriculture

7. Growth of our political system in the last quarter-century

8. The connection between national and international factors in the Hungarian buildup of socialism

9. Our history and the public mentality

10. The role of social and mass organizations (trade union, youth alliance) in our political system

11. The MSZMP's cultural policy

III. Basic principles and practice of our socialist economy

1. State of the national economy and tasks for its development in 1985

2. Contemporary economic necessities and pursuits which affect the production, distribution and use of national income

3. The requirements and concrete local tasks for growth in competitiveness, economic efficiency and national economic equilibrium

4. Industry's situation, role and tasks for development

5. Agriculture's situation, role and tasks for development
 6. The enterprise structure system
 7. Mobility, training, refresher training and efficient use of the labor force
 8. Factors which influence development of the standard of living (revenues, prices, social policy, living conditions)
 9. The Hungarian national economy's place and maturity in the world economy; current characteristics of its growth and structural change
 10. Sociopolitical and ideological projections of our economic situation
 11. Growth of the macroeconomic management system
 12. Weight and significance of supplementary economic forms in production, services and revenues
- IV. Questions in connection with our domestic political life and the political unity of society
1. Contemporary political and moral requirements of social solidarity and activity
 2. Changes in the social structure
 3. Socialist development of the village: fundamental factor in consolidation of the alliance
 4. Interests and interest relationships in socialism
 5. Nationalities in Hungary
 6. The Gypsies in our society
 7. The party's place in our political system and its role in the conscious influence and guidance of social processes
 8. Exemplification and responsibility of communists in expansion of the party's ideological and political influence
 9. The place, role and special characteristics of the development of the working class in our time
 10. Population growth and population growth policy
 11. National public administration and public democracy
 12. The role of the intelligentsia in our time

13. The transformation of Hungarian society from the liberation to the 1980s: facts and tendencies

14. The family in society

15. Social accommodation's means and difficulties, and possibilities for overcoming them

V. Issues involving our ideological life and our cultural policy

1. Our fatherland in the international ideological struggle

2. The dialectics of change in socialism and in its image

3. Tasks for strengthening socialist national unity

4. Political unity and ideological diversity

5. The socialist society and Marxist-Leninist ideology

6. The assertion of hegemony of Marxism-Leninism in our time

7. The national and the nationality question

8. The modern meaning of socialist patriotism and internationalism

9. Our struggle against modern manifestations of nationalism

10. Current requirements of socialist morality

11. The individual and the community; collectivity and economic individuality

12. The problems of freedom and responsibility in socialist society

13. The relationship between religion and morality in our time

14. Issues involving the enrichment and protection of our cultural traditions and socialist values

15. The school in society

16. Current conceptual and theoretical questions about our literature and art policy

17. Conceptual and practical implementation of our information policy

18. Our participation in international cultural relations

VI. Development of international relations; our foreign policy

1. Development of the international balance of power and its impact on the international situation
2. The role of the countries within the socialist community in international relations formulation
3. Characteristics of contemporary capitalism and the situation and role of advanced capitalist countries in world politics
4. Political conservatism, militarism and neofascism
5. Centers of crisis, local conflicts and the possibilities for solving them
6. Current questions about the European commission and cooperation
7. The most important current problems of arms reduction and disarmament
8. The role of social organizations and mass movements in the development of international relations and in the preservation of peace
9. The primary directions of the international ideological struggle in our time
10. Chief characteristics of the current state of the international communist movement
11. The role of social democracy in international relations
12. Hungarian foreign policy
13. The role of national defense in the preservation of security and our socialist accomplishments
14. Bourgeois mass media and imperialist manipulation in the capitalist world

Special lecture series

1. Issues involving the development of macroeconomic management (for assistance in the preparation of the Central Committee's 17 April 1984 documents)

--Development of the macroeconomic management system

--Trends in the continued development of national economy and enterprise planning

- Improvement of enterprises' organizational system and leadership
 - Improvement of wage and income regulations
 - The place and role of price policy and the price system in the macro-economic management system
 - Principles of our cooperative society policy and the tasks for improving it
 - Continued development of the harmonization of economic interests
 - The chief sociopolitical connections of macroeconomic management changes
2. Inner life of the party (for assistance in preparation of the 13th congress)

- Questions of party buildup in principle and in practice
- Principles of our cadre policy, new features and requirements of our cadre work
- The party's work style and work method
- The role of ideological and political education work in strengthening party unity
- Current issues involving party guidance of mass organizations
- The party's role and activity in the economy

3. Youth and society

- Chief characteristics of youth's situation
- Issues involving young people starting their lives and careers in the 1980s
- Youth's ideological standing and the tasks of instruction in world views
- The role of KISZ [Communist Youth League] in Hungarian society today
- The party's youth policy

4. The world economy in our time

- The world economy today and tomorrow
- East-West economic relations in the 1980s

--Global problems in the world economy

--The international credit and financial system; the debt situation in the world

--The main trends and global economic connections of scientific/technical progress

--Integrative tendencies in the capitalist world

--The place and role of developing countries in the world economy

--The economic situation and cooperation of the CEMA countries in the 1980s; attempts at development of the macroeconomic management system

--The world economy and the Hungarian economy.

12327

CSO: 2500/47

NATIONAL DEFENSE LAW: COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE FOR WOMEN

Budapest ESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Oct 84 p 3

[Article: "On Execution of National Defense Law"]

[Text] The official organization of the Ministry of Defense are soon going to execute the No 1 defense law of 1976 which deals with the compulsory military service for women. By the end of this year, women between the ages of 18 and 45, working in public health, will be registered. In accordance with the law, this does not mean military service during peace time, only registration.

The basic regulations concerning compulsory military service for women are found in paragraph 30 of the law No 1 of 1976, according to which:

"(1) Compulsory military service involves women only in specific professions or employments, between the ages of 18 and 45 years. In includes:

- a) compulsory reporting for registration;
- b) in case of war, active military service in specific duties.

(2) Women may not be forced to do armed service on the basis of compulsory military service."

According to the law the regulations specify that only women in the fields of, or employment in public health, communication, computer technology, traffic control, supply, translation, technical drawing, administrative machine operation, or related fields, should be registered for compulsory military service.

According to the national defense law, women may not be forced to do armed service. This means that they cannot be assigned to fighting units but instead they must serve in support organizations and in a capacity that is identical with their civilian employment.

Compulsory military service affects women only in case of war. In peacetime, the law prescribes only compulsory registration. Registration does not affect travelling abroad; permission does not have to be obtained from the military authorities.

The implementation of the law begins with the registration of women working in public health. In all institutions of public health, the affected women are asked to fill out a "Data Sheet." Following that, the commands of county replacement centers and territory defense (Budapest Capital City Recruiting Center) ask the registrants to appear in person; at this time the registrants' data are checked and, if necessary, completed, and military I.D. cards are issued. The registrants are informed beforehand of the time and place of the reporting, and of the necessary documents they must bring along. After this, registration will be continuous, affecting women who obtain licenses in public health in the meantime or women who have licenses but do not work in public health.

The registration of women working in the other fields listed in the law will be done gradually. Women not affected may continue to voluntarily report for registration for any military service but combat.

Under no condition will women who are pregnant, who are mothers of small children, who have 4 or more children, who are divorced with dependents under 18 years of age, who take care of a close relative, or whose husband is doing active military service, be called for military service. But they still must register.

The order of the Ministry of Defense concerning the registration of women of military service age appeared in the issue 1984/39 of the MAGYAR KOZLONY.

9414

CSO: 2500/32

'STRATIFICATION' IN SOCIETY STUDIED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 12 Oct 84 p 5

/Interview with Researcher Agnes Utasi by Karoly Ban: "The Enticing Elite and the Others: Lifestyle, Consumption From Researcher's Perspective"/

/Text/ Nowadays in sociological literature we rarely come across the model "two classes, one sub-class," which derives from the fact that class differences are blurred in socialist society, while stratification seems to be increasing along the lines of work, income and education. All this has been accompanied by a revived interest in the investigation of social structure and stratification. For example, a long-range stratification model study is being conducted at the Social Science Institute. A part of this deals with the study of lifestyle and consumption, dealt with at the institute by Agnes Utasi, a staff member of the stratification research group.

/Question/ The freely disposable share of income available to most Hungarian families has increased significantly, and at the same time the amount of leisure time has increased, and for this reason the mode of life has often been discussed as a subject in the daily press. But the concept of lifestyle does not appear very often. What should we actually understand by lifestyle?

/Answer/ This concept has not as yet become general in science, in essence it deals with the seeking of new ways. Mode of life and lifestyle are ultimately the same categories, but mode of life refers primarily to the individual while lifestyle is characteristic of a group. Therefore, lifestyle is not simply an expression of different living conditions but derives from social stratification because it has a group character. The interest now shown in this concept is justified by the fact that individuals and groups, even when they have the same income conditions, have differing modes of life depending on what they prefer in the way of consumption in accordance with their taste, habits and cultural traditions.

Table 1. Composition of the Elite According to Social Position
(percentage based on a sampling of 872 persons)

Upper level manager with university degree	8.9
University graduate professional	10.7
Manager without university degree	5.6
Professional with college degree	6.2
Pensioned professional and manager	8.6
Medium-grade professional	24.9
Skilled worker with high school diploma	6.8
Skilled worker	10.8
Artisan, retailer	1.8
Semiskilled worker	4.1
Unskilled worker	0.5
Medium-level pensioner	2.5
Laborer pensioner	1.5
Homemaker, student	7.1

/Question/ But I think you would agree that living conditions have a very important role in the choices.

/Answer/ This is true. But it is also a fact that certain sub-classes of Hungarian society differ in lifestyle more strikingly than could be expected on the basis of issues and material living conditions. This was, in fact, the goal of our investigation: Under given living conditions what do people give preference to, and consequently what kind of lifestyles do they follow?

/Question/ Therefore, according to preferences shown in consumption, the researchers place people in groups and this is how you classify society. To what extent can this grouping be regarded as arbitrary?

/Answer/ Our data are based on two thousandths of the population, but of course those who are included in the sampling represent the composition of Hungarian society also on the basis of housing, occupation, schooling, age and in other respects. We measured intellectual consumption, the consumption of objects in the environment, housing facilities, house furnishings, household consumption, habits of individuals within the family and their relationships outside the family, and activity in the second economy. According to this, we classified the members of society in 10 groups. We called those with the most favorable consumption the elite, and on the other extreme we classified those who live in poverty.

/Question/ The elite concept in Hungary has a negative sound. In fact, how should we interpret the concept?

/Answer/ In our investigations we do not use the term in the way the concept is traditionally accepted in international sociological literature. With this designation we do not wish to express eminence in the qualitative sense; we use it only to designate a group which in response to favorable living conditions is following characteristic models with a high level of consumption.

/Question/ As is evident from the study, 5.5 percent of the population can be included in the group with an elite lifestyle. Who are these people?

/Answer/ Most of them live in a city, are middle aged, have at least a high school diploma, earn an above-average income, and in general do intellectual work. A low income practically makes it impossible to have this kind of lifestyle, which among other things is characterized by high intellectual, hygienic, and leisure time consumption, living conditions with amenities and conveniences, and healthy eating habits.

/Question/ I am surprised that only one-fifth of those with the highest per capita income belong in this group.

/Answer/ The elite lifestyle does not unconditionally mean affluence, although there is a certain income level--3,000 forints per capita income--below which it is impossible to "get into" this group. People living under much better material conditions also follow entirely different consumption patterns than the elite, because they make their choice on the basis of different values, habits, needs and cultural traditions.

/Question/ In the past 40 years an egalitarian process has taken place in Hungarian society, while in the past few years signs of increasing differentiation are beginning to show, not only in the origin of income but also in their mode of spending. How do these phenomena influence lifestyle?

/Answer/ The inequalities in consumption are the consequence of different living conditions, habits, and cultural traditions, although undoubtedly living conditions have a very important role in the differences and in the kind of lifestyle a person pursues. Income relations, schooling, the nature of a settlement, occupational prestige, or the civilized environment have a very important influence on consumption habits, and therefore on lifestyle. In respect to incomes, we can actually speak of a levelling phase, but differences in schooling remain great. The number of those who do not finish 8 years of general school is twice as great in the villages as in the cities. It is part of the pattern, therefore, that requirements are lower in the villages, and thus villagers find it more difficult to get into the elite, or into the professional lifestyle group.

/Question/ What kind of relationship did you find between work performed and lifestyle?

/Answer/ Work as the goal in life appears mostly among the elite. This is not accidental, for most of those belonging to this group perform qualified, self-realizing work. Among the professional lifestyle groups, which consist mostly of young professionals, the indication of work as the goal in life is less frequent, something

undoubtedly related to the lack of tasks, and to the fact that this sub-class does not as yet have those benefits of civilization--chiefly housing--that would promote greater concentration on work. It is also observable that among those who live in scarcity, work performance in the second economy is more intensive than among the elite, who are less dependent on it.

/Question/ The most exciting question in this subject area is: What kind of mobility exists among the individual lifestyle groups?

/Answer/ Living conditions give a certain freedom, opportunity for choice; the better the material circumstances the better, of course, the possibilities. There is little opportunity for choice among those living in scarcity, for the greater part of their energy is spent on satisfying basic needs. There is a larger group--we call them workaholics--that works from morning to night, and although they could in part pay for cultural pursuits they do not feel the need. As we move upward in the various lifestyle groupings, cultural pursuits increase. The "model-following" lifestyle, for example, received its name from the fact that those belonging to this group seek to imitate the elite and take over their consumption habits. Ten percent of the population, mostly qualified skilled workers and professional workers, belongs here. The most mobile group, however, is not represented by the "model-followers" but by the professionals who--as they advance in age--provide recruits for the elite.

/Question/ I suppose that the individual groupings themselves are not unified in every respect, since the causes of poverty, for example, extend from individual deviation to social inequality. Does research differentiate in this area?

/Answer/ Among those living in poverty we differentiate between those who have a number of disadvantages--here we include mostly those with low pension payments, the elderly, the sick, the inadequate--and those who have at the most two to three disadvantages. Primary characteristics of this group are ignorance, little education, tana /isolated farmhouse/ housing, exceptional family conditions and poverty. Twenty-three percent of this group has one disadvantage, and 30 percent has more than four.

Table 2. Odds on Moving Into the Elite, percentage by groups
(based on a sampling of 15,834 persons)

Upper level manager with university degree	37.8
University graduate professional	33.6
Manager without university degree	20.6
Professional with college degree	20.5
Pensioned professional and manager	12.9
Medium-grade professional	11.8
Skilled worker with high school diploma	10.7
Skilled worker	3.8
Artisan, retailer	5.2
Semiskilled worker	1.4
Unskilled worker	0.4
Medium-level pensioner	3.3
Laborer pensioner	0.6
Homemaker, student	2.3*

* Twelve percent of students over age of 18 years pass into the elite.

The research work being conducted at the institute merely registers the consumption and cultural inequalities that exist in the society, but up to now has not reached the point of telling what society should do. I believe that what we have already done is considerable, because the indications we have given about stratification in the society are important for the future. These indications offer a favorable base not only for continuation of the research but also for making decisions--which, of course, are not the task of the researchers.

6691

CSC: 2500/30

HUNGARY

MTI REPORT OF STATEMENT ON LIBERATION THEOLOGY CRITICIZED

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 16 Sep 84 p 2

[Brief in "Under Catholic Eyes" column]

[Text] Even the title of the MTI report appearing in the 4 September issue of the MAGYAR NEMZET (p 2) about a Vatican event was misleading. That is, on 3 September Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger did not review "a document about South America" in the Vatican press room, but rather, outlined the warning handed down by the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith operating under his leadership about observations related to liberation theology.

We are not assuming purposeful misrepresentation, but knowing the practice of the Vatican press office, i.e., an official statement is also distributed on the scene about the presentation at the press conference, we are hard pressed to find an explanation for the distortions which appear in the MTI report. That is to say, the document in question did not "initiate an attack against" a particular "social theory and practice", but rather deals with a currently evolving theological trend and warns against those possibilities which lead to deviance and aberrations inherent in the so-called "liberation theology". The purpose of the document is not for the office of church doctrines to make a definitive declaration on a pronounced thesis, i.e., that marxism and the Christian faith stand in "irreconcilable contradiction", but rather, cautions theologians from "adapting ideas and concepts from various currents of marxist thought without adequate critical consideration.

The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith does not in the least wish to reject the correctly established principles of liberation theology. It wants even less to reject those who, inspired by the love of the dispossessed, oppressed or persecuted brothers, generously commit themselves to protect the poor, freedom, truth, and human rights. But it demands of them that the theoretical and practical foundation of their activities be in harmony with the Gospels and the teaching of the church which stem from them. That is, these striving efforts may be directly traced to and founded on the teachings of Christ and may be motivated by the papal encyclicals dealing the the great issues of the age. Consequently, there is no need to include the theses of other ideological analyses into Catholic theology, or rather, to politicize theology.

Thus, the issue is not the rekindling of the fires of ideological confrontation or some sort of frontal attack, but rather the issue is that each ideological system should fight for the prosperity of humanity, the freeing of those living under inhuman conditions from the premises of its own basic tenets. There are already plenty of examples for the possibility of arriving at mutually recognized universal interests starting from differing ideological bases.

It is indisputable that the tenor of the 32-page document is one of firm resolution. But one of Cardinal Ratzinger's earlier statements also validates this: the task of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith is not to unveil newer heresies and then set them under persecution, but to promote the development of theology in the proper direction.

9956

CSO: 2500/13

HUNGARY

ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS DESCRIBED BY FIRST SECRETARY OF SZOT

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Oct 84 p 3

/Speech by Lajos Mehes, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Politburo member and first secretary of National Trade Union Council: "The Role of Trade Unions in the Lives of Enterprises and Public Affairs Is Increasing"

/Text Chief stewards in the trade union of the clothing industry met Tuesday in Budapest. Participating in the meeting and speaking in the discussions was Lajos Mehes, member of the MSZMP Politburo and first secretary of SZOT (National Council of Trade Unions). The situation in this industrial sub-branch and its main tasks were described by Mrs Marton Czervan, first secretary of the Trade Union of Clothing Industry Workers. She said that production in the sub-branch increased in the first half of 1984 by 8.5 percent as compared to the same period for the previous year, although personnel was reduced and investment possibilities were narrowed to the minimum. Ruble account exports rose by 11 percent and capitalist exports by 23 percent. She pointed out that if the quantitative and qualitative basic material supply could be improved, the clothing industry could further increase its profitable exports. She called attention to the fact that the role of the trade unions in the life of the work shops was continuing to grow. It is necessary to improve the democratic atmosphere in the factories, the open exchange of ideas, and there is much to be done in organizing and further developing socialist work competition.

After the opening speech by the first secretary of the trade union, the chief stewards of the sub-branch described their experiences, problems and made recommendations to increase the level of trade union work, and then Lajos Mehes spoke.

To Confront Our Mistakes

The first secretary of SZOT reminded his listeners that the trade union movement is not in an easy position anywhere in the world, everywhere tensions are growing greater. As a consequence of the crisis that developed in the 1970's, inflation and unemployment has again appeared and increased in the capitalist countries. We ourselves were

not armed against external influences, we reacted only after a delay, in fact we strained the rapid development of the economy in order to maintain the dynamic growth of real wages. But we had to realize that we could not continue on this road. In 1978 we put at the center of our economic policy the establishment of economic equilibrium, the improvement of the country's balance of payments, and protection of the living standards already attained. We can debate over whether we should have started on this course sooner, for we lost 5 years by what we did--said the first secretary--but from the perspective of hindsight the trade unions must also honorably confront their own mistakes, namely that they have continued to live too long in the intoxicating atmosphere of development in the early 1970's. We had to sober up and start on a new course, and now we may say that we have achieved significant successes in the past 5 years. We have halted indebtedness and made improvements in our foreign trade balance.

Significant Reserves Exist

As for the future, it is my opinion, continued Lajos Mehes, that it is not enough to set as our goal the maintenance and improvement of the balance and the protection of our living standards. We have to speed up development, stop the declining trend in real wages, and improve the situation of the most vulnerable sub-classes--pensioners, large families, young married couples, and those in a disadvantageous position for a variety of reasons. To do all this we need to revive the economy, the first secretary stated. For this we cannot count on any foreign help. To be sure, we can rely on the mutual advantages of our trade with friendly countries, but further development must come mostly from our own resources.

Our economy has significant reserves in material consumption, in savings related to live and embodied work, and in the development of enterprise independence and individual creativity. The central goal which the trade unions, too, regard as the primary national goal is in the expansion of our people's creative capacity. The trade unions must also keep pace with the changing requirements, but to this end it will be necessary to have a change of outlook in a number of areas. The first secretary brought up as an example the matter of full employment, which the trade unions continue to regard as a great achievement and cling to it. But they understand that they must also support effective employment, namely, that at every work place there should be only the number of workers that are necessary. This applies not only to the factories but also to offices and the independent trade union structures, the first secretary emphasized. Let us not be proud of the fact that we, too, have had a bankrupt enterprise, or that we had to relocate 1,500 persons. It is much more important and characteristic that we solve structural change in a socialist way by thinking also of the human beings involved.

The trade unions endorse measures to increase efficiency. But they persist with all available means in seeing that the state--because it has the possibilities for doing so--should help those who have to change their place of employment. This should begin with the industrial apprentices, continue into retraining and refresher training all the way to creating new jobs. The first secretary of SZOT went on to say that one of the central ideas in the development of the economic guidance system is that the enterprises should make independent decisions about their own fate. The participation of the workers in decisionmaking becomes of great importance. For the trade unions this is not something new, the movement has been striving for this for years, and has achieved quite a bit of success particularly in the past 16 years. Thus the trade unions agree with changes and accept the responsibilities that they incur. It does not harm to emphasize the latter--said the SZOT first secretary--for it is a wonderful thing to have the enterprise make decisions in matters affecting its interests, but this is accompanied by a need for the enterprise to accept responsibility.

Let Us Pay for Work Performed

The trade unions gladly undertake organization work in the field of new enterprise management forms, and it is a fact that in the coming period their importance, role and reputation will continue to grow in enterprise and public life. Then Lajos Mehes spoke about questions of living standard policies. Thirty-five years ago we worked out and conducted a living standard policy, he said, in which beside a low wage level we supported prices centrally and also continually increased sociopolitical and social allowances. Subsequently, we had to rethink this model. Economic expedience and the demands of people are for increasingly better pay in return for work performed. There should not be levelling among the enterprises, and we should give better pay for creative intellectual work and higher achievements. Today 100 forints of an inhabitant's net income consists of 35 forints in sociopolitical social allowances. We must gradually moderate the growth of this ratio, for otherwise the possibility of providing greater incentives for better work will decline. All this does not contradict our guarding and developing of social achievements.

The trade unions are also initiating efforts to have important social, economic problems decided in open debate as they are made known to the broad masses of workers. In fact, the membership has confidence only in those managers who share their problems with the masses, the first secretary emphasized. SZOT is built not on an office but on the confidence of the membership. It is not only we who must know this--he said--but every one of our discussion partners must also bear it clearly in mind.

6691

CSO: 2500/36

MEASURES OUTLINED TO HALT NEGATIVE BIRTH RATE

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 28 Sep 84 p 5

[Text] At the 27 Sep 1984 session of the Council of Ministers, questions involving demographic policy were discussed and, based on the stand taken by the Committee on Policy of the MSZMP, the actions to be taken on a longer range were formulated.

The demographic situation is a very important national and social matter in which the responsibility of the entire government and the joining of social forces must be manifested.

During the past years, multiple state and social activities were displayed, in the direction set by the 1973 resolution of the Council of Ministers, to improve the demographic situation of the country. Much help was provided to this effort by scientific research, and by the educational and informative activities.

Unfavorable Changes

The system of state support toward family life and child rearing is extensive and it also stands the test of an international comparison. Our socialist state provides many kinds of support to families and children. During the past decade family allowances were repeatedly increased, the number of eligible families was raised and the system of child care assistance was further improved. In 1975, 6.4 billion forints were allocated to 1.773 million children while in 1983, 16 billion forints were paid out as child care benefits to 2.341 million children. The portion of the national income spent on cash benefits to families with children has increased during the last decade. The health conditions for having children have improved, the level of obstetrical care has been raised and there has been a decrease in the number of induced abortions and in infant mortality.

Considerable progress has been made in the services provided by children's institutions. Nursery schools are provided to nearly everyone and increasingly more children can be placed in day nurseries. The state efforts were supplemented by considerable social activity. Families with children are helped in attaining an apartment by gradually expanding sociopolitical benefits. Working mothers are allowed extra vacation and reduced working hours to help them provide for the care and upbringing of their children.

During the past decades--in tune with our social aspirations--there was a further increase in the number of employed women, especially among the younger age groups, and a stabilization of their number at a high level (among 14-29 year old women, the percentage of those gainfully employed were: 44 in 1949, 48 in 1960, 65 in 1970 and 75 in 1980).

The demographic situation of the country underwent unfavorable changes during the past years. The size of the families does not insure the reproduction of the population in spite of the fact that, during the past decade, the ratio of childless and one-child families has decreased while the number of families with two children has increased and has become the norm. In order to have the size of the population remain unchanged in the long-run, the average number of children per family should be greater than two. Because of the relatively small number of families with three children, this average has not been attained for a long time. In the population decrease, an important role is played--and gives cause for anxiety--by the unfavorable changes in mortality which is on the increase especially among men over 30.

Because of the low birth rate, the proportion of children is decreasing among the population. Fertility figures have been unfavorably affected for years by the decreasing number of marriages and the increase in the number of unwed couples.

With small fluctuations, there has been a further increase in the divorce rate especially among the young and, because of it, many children are raised by single parents.

State and Social Agenda

The government has reconfirmed its intention to treat the matter of demographics as an important sociopolitical problem. It considers it important to systematically renew those institutional forms of provision which insure that the creative activity of the nation rests on balanced demographic foundations. At the same time, it continues to respect the right of its citizens to plan their families independently.

In order to improve the demographic situation, the Council of Ministers considers it necessary to maintain such--long-range and gradually attained--state and social activities which make it possible to moderate the process of population decrease, in the long-run to halt it, and later to start increasing it to improve the age distribution of the population. In the long-run, there must be an increase in the birth rate and a sustained moderation in the rate of deaths.

In the interest of moderating and later halting the population decrease, the willingness of families to have children must be reinforced. An increase in the number of families with three children is desirable.

The family fulfills an indispensable role in the care and raising of children, in their preparation for social life and in the care of the elderly. The willingness to have children, to raise them and to take care of the needy

elderly within the family must be given recognition as socially useful work. Gradually and in tune with the increasing capacity of the country to bear the load, the necessary legal, financial and other conditions must be provided.

Motherhood as a vocation must be elevated to a higher social rank, at the same time ensuring that the achievements in the area of women's equality be retained and even advanced. The spreading of the attitude must be promoted which considers having children, care for the aged and a harmonious family life an honorable example to be followed.

Special attention must be paid to the gradual betterment of the living standard of families who are in a multiple disadvantageous situation. We should strive to provide the children of such families with greater than average help for building the foundations of their career and for social adjustment.

To promote better reconciliation of the duties of child rearing, care for the aged and outside employment, the forms of employment must be expanded which give to women a greater choice in how they want to divide their time between caring for the family and their professional pursuits. To this end, part time employment, home industry occupations and the use of flexible working hours must be promoted, and the enterprises should be provided with greater incentives toward such goals.

Increase in the Extent of State Support

In the interest of attaining the long-range population policy goals, the government considers it necessary that the state more effectively support the families who want and raise children. Therefore, it intends to extend the pregnancy and postpartum assistance to four more weeks and to also raise the sum of the one-time maternity assistance. It is desirable that children be raised within their own families until age 1 in general, and to a greater extent than today until age 3. In order to bring the child care assistance up-to-date, the system of child care fees is being gradually introduced. This provision is designed to more extensively replace the wages of a mother caring for her small child. The child care fee is linked with the working condition and the wage. In the interest of caring for a sick child at home, the entitlement to this sick pay will extend to 10 years of age in the future. At the same time, it will become possible that the parents claim sick pay for their child under more favorable conditions.

Improving the income of families with children necessitates that the family allowance should contribute gradually--in tune with the economic possibilities--and to an ever increasing measure to the expense of the family. Starting with this concept, the family allowance of families with three or more children is the first on the list of allowances to be raised.

In the interest of a higher degree of state and social support for wanting children and raising them, the network of child care institutions must be developed further and the level of their services must be raised.

To carry the social burdens more equitably and to better aid the needy, the compensation fees in child care institutions need to be better differentiated.

In improving the conditions for establishing a family and wanting children, it is particularly important that there should be a shorter waiting period for apartments and the associated burdens should become more moderate. This necessitates putting into practice an acceleration in the multiple step system of getting an apartment, an expansion of the advantageous forms of saving beforehand and the establishment of new methods for obtaining and repaying loans more favorable than present methods and more supportive of families with several children.

The unified family care network should be gradually established. Its task is to provide informative and care services during the specific phases in the life of a family and to support families who land in a difficult situation either temporarily or on a long-term basis. The family care network carries out its work in cooperation with the family protection councils organized by the presidium of the Patriotic People's Front.

To Improve the State of Health of the Population

Of equal importance to achieving a more favorable birth rate and easing the conditions for child rearing is the demographic policy goal to improve the state of health of the population, to halt the further increase in the rate of mortality and to also achieve improvement in this respect.

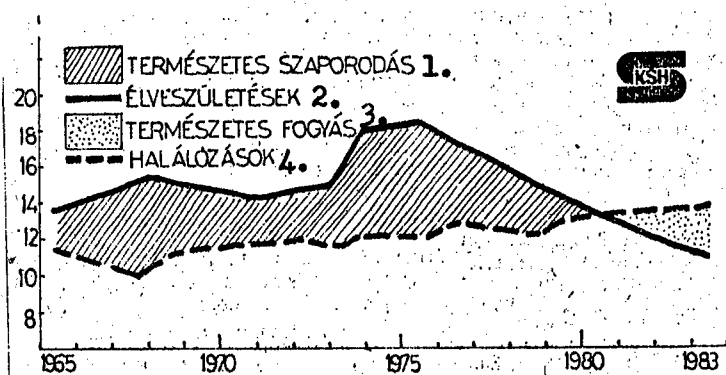
In the interest of a significant decrease in infant mortality, the health conditions associated with wanting children, with pregnancy and obstetrical care must be advanced.

An important factor in improving the state of health of the population--in addition to health care services--is to raise the general level of health consciousness and to force back customs deleterious to health. A program has to be planned and carried out which would promote moderation in alcoholism and smoking, more healthful nutrition and the lowering of environmental hazards. To reach these goals, in addition to the supply of material and other resources and the promotion of general interest, the cooperation of society must also be called for and utilized.

Comprehensive expert health programs must be worked out for health maintenance and the early detection and treatment of diseases. The system of screening examinations must be further expanded for the early diagnosis of diseases which are the most frequent causes of death (cardiovascular and tumor diseases). Geriatric care, health and social services must be expanded and must be enriched with new forms.

In the different schedules of national economic plans, the demographic policy goals and interests must assert themselves more comprehensively and more consistently than before. Measures serving demographic policy, in the national economic plans, must be timed in such a manner that the most important conditions for wanting and raising children and for maintaining health should

already improve within the next few years. However, these can only bring lasting results if social organizations and our responsible citizens, the Hungarian families, participate in the effort to change attitudes and to provide the conditions needed to achieve these goals.



Population changes--per 1000 people

Key:

1. Natural population increase
2. Live births
3. Natural population decrease
4. Deaths

2473

CSO: 2500/24

HUNGARY

20TH ANNIVERSARY OF ACCORD WITH VATICAN RECALLED

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 16 Sep 84 p 1

[Editorial: "About the Agreement Between the Holy See and Hungary, on the Twentieth Anniversary"; passages enclosed in slantlines were printed in italics]

[Text] "Whenever the subject arises of settling the issues that interest the two powers (the church and the state) for various grounds and motives, the public interest desires and requires that an agreement be reached between them." (Leo XIII, *Immortale Dei*)

On 15 September 1964, Minister Jozsef Pranter, as plenipotentiary of the government of the Hungarian People's Republic and Monsignor Agostino Casaroli, then deputy-secretary of the Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Matters, signed a document regarding the relation of church and state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Budapest. This is the first time in history that an official agreement--one that takes the interests of both parties into consideration--was concluded between a socialist state and the Vatican.

In the history of European peoples, the idea of the separation of church and state has appeared ever more powerfully and urgently since the Enlightenment, which may be traced, on the one hand, to the distinction between spiritual and temporal power made significantly earlier, and on the other, to the more recent raising of the concept of conscience initiated by Christianity. For precisely this reason, the necessity of the separation was insisted on by not only the liberal politicians representing the sovereignty of the state, but, from the very start, also by Catholics such as Montalambert, Lammenais, Lacordaire, and in our country, Jozsef Eotvos and Albert Apponyi.

/The separation of church and state made it necessary for the Vatican to legally clarify and reinforce the situation of the local churches/--with at least a partial agreement, but ideally by a concordat.

The political circles opposing the separation of church and state were concerned for the socioeconomic prestige of the church as an institution of power. In the years following the Second World War, and especially during the years of the personality cult, it truly seemed that /the only casualty of the separation was the church which not only had its "earthly" domain

confiscated and its "worldly" role restricted, but it even had to submit its remaining slight "spiritual influence" to the demands of current policy which was alien to its goals./ (This is what the pastoral letters of the Hungarian Bishops Conference seemed to be justifying at the time, regarding the success of the peace loan (see UJ EMBER 7 Oct 1951 and 5 Oct 1952) or the "seasonal pastoral letters" with regard to the agricultural work corresponding to each season.

/Since many on both sides confused political conflict with ideological struggle, administrative means were utilized. And since the political struggle had ended, it was believed that the ideological differences were also resolved./ Just one example is sufficient to show how difficult it is to realize the fundamental defect in this faulty mode of thinking. An article in the October 1964 issue of VILAGOSSAG praising the partial agreement between the Vatican and the Hungarian People's Republic said, among other things, that it is necessary to argue with the views of the Catholic masses and "to aid their further development in the direction of socialism and to help them overcome their restricted religious ideas" (see p 578). This formulation suggests that religious ideas obstruct the building of socialism.

Later, the realization of common interests began to dissolve the initially rigid ideological opposition; this development was aided by the 1964 agreement. That is to say, this was not the conclusion, but rather the beginning of the constant negotiations continuing ever since then, the reconciliation of interests, and the continuous arrangement of the relationship between church and state. The significance of the event in 1964 is verified by the results of the past 20 years.

During the course of building socialism, the marxists must have inevitably encountered the needs of the socialist man. While in the beginning, the elite-corps of cadres selected for leadership, ideologically well-trained and entrusted with authority, seemed enough, later on greater masses of men of quality who were prepared to sacrifice for the common good seemed indispensable. This realization contained the first spark of the so-called /idea of federated politics which in the task of building society requires a partner of another world view./ The conclusion of a few of the more deeply thinking marxist philosophers--and even politicians--prompted by their knowledge of the importance of the human factor was that /the ethical and moral values of a religious education could play a positive role in the development of the new type of socialist man/.

For the most part, it is the consequence of the realization stemming from this knowledge that, compared to the beginning, the anti-religious ideological struggle also changed within marxist practice. The above-quoted study in VILAGOSSAG talks of the materialist enlightenment of the as yet religious people. However, today we would much prefer to use the concept and practice of dialogue, which assumes equal partners.

/The greatest value of the 1964 agreement was not so much in what it set in writing, but rather in what it made possible./ The prelate appointments which occurred simultaneously with the signing of the document presaged the complete

supplementation of the hierarchy of the Hungarian Catholic Church which was realized with the filling of the Primate's seat in Esztergom in 1976.

During the past 20 years, the undisputed diplomatic successes and events of historical significance were the visits of Prime Minister /Gyorgy Lazar/ in 1975, and later, of /Janos Kadar/ in 1977 with /Pope Paul VI/.

The freedom of conscience was often cited to counter opponents during the separation of church and state. Later, the church itself emphasized the freedom of conscience in the interests of its followers. The above-mentioned meetings and negotiations were exemplary demonstrations to the whole world--but primarily to our country--that /freedom of religion is not only in the interest of the faithful, but also of all of society. It is not a gesture of courtesy, or a privilege stemming from momentary largesse and tolerance, but rather, it is the prevailing indicator of a society's democratization. Where freedom of religion is absent, other matters are also not in order./

In our country, the devout--both the clergy and the laity--want to assume responsibility for political decisions, for society as a whole. But they may only assume responsibility if they are permitted to cooperate with better consciences in the development of our people's destiny.

For the Hungarian people, the building of socialism is not a temporary state which could even be tolerated while "squatting". In this land, the Catholics did not remain true to their country or church because there was no room on the "trucks heading west" in 1956. We do not portray our increasing cooperation as a weighty condition of coexistence with the marxists, but rather, we use that which stems from our Christian mission in our age and specific situation--because /the church "by virtue of its mission and nature is not limited by any form of human culture nor by any kind of political, economic or social system"/ (Gaudium et spes).

We look to the future with the hope of accomplishing our Christian mission.

9956

CSO: 2500/13

HUNGARY

ANSWER TO LETTER ABOUT 'DIACONIAN THEOLOGY', POWER STRUGGLES

Budapest EVANGELIKUS ELET in Hungarian 2 Sep 84 p 3

[Article by Laszlo Kevehazi: "Theologized Betrayal"; passages enclosed in slantlines were printed in italics]

[Text] It has come to the attention of the ministers of the Lutheran diocese of Pest county that with the expiration of their passports, Zoltan Doka, minister of Hevizgyork, and Maria Doka, ministerial colleague, have to date not returned home; moreover, Minister Zoltan Doka wrote a letter to the members and directors of the Executive Committee of the LVSZ [World Federation of Ministers]; and further, this letter has been circulated in Hungarian translation by irresponsible parties. We feel that we too are permitted to express our opinion with regard to this letter.

/We do not assume responsibility for and condemn the contents of the letter/ which in reality discusses two matters. On the one hand, it challenges the significance of diaconian theology. In the letter we read that the word "diaconia" hardly appears in the New Testament and its content is peripheral. Then the letter-writer gives himself away when he writes that the meaning of the word begins with service around the table and ends with service at the Crucifixion of Christ: Is this not exactly the message of the entire New Testament? Thus, aren't we saying the Crucifixion of Christ is a diaconia from which we could "serve beside the table" while living? We consider the diaconia to be the heart and center of the gospels; at the same time it is the fruit and service of our faith. No one can take this away from us. We remember Zoltan Doka said these things once; this is also the spirit in which he wrote the commentaries of Mark, to our great joy; moreover, the members of the LMK [Association of Ministers] also remember when he said that the diaconian theology helped him in the writing of his book. Which was Zoltan Doka's true voice? We find his letter especially painful when he writes that we could only mention the above cited theology either for the purpose of advancement or from fear. Zoltan Doka must know how we have adopted this theology as our own over the course of the years, and as a matter of fact, in contrast to his letter, also that of our congregation where the ministers preach accordingly. We know that not everyone shares our faith, but we reject what the Doka letter presents.

The other portion of his letter is about a "power struggle", which is how, in his opinion, Bishop Zoltan Kaldy "attained power". We don't deny that there

have been serious church policy struggles in our church, and at those times power interests have also appeared. But it is not just to malign the life of one who delivered our church from these struggles and dead ends. Why doesn't his latter mention how many times our bishop was attacked from within and without? Nor do we hear anything, and this is a fact, that it was precisely the diaconian theology which rescued our church from the quagmire, and colored and revived the life of our church; it was not in the sense of "service" or "orientation", but rather in that of the service of Christ. Zoltan Doka must know that we accept responsibility with our leader for the community, and not with one who attacks him from without.

/We do not accept responsibility for and condemn the purpose of the letter/. The letter states, as the writer also does later, that with the letter he wanted to harm neither the bishop nor frustrate the presidential candidacy of the LVSZ; nor did he wish to do any harm to the church, but only wanted to create an "atmosphere of free discussion" in our church. We will not repeat what our bishop said in this regard, that one who was preparing for a world congress really had no time to pursue theological debate and that later there will come a freer time for this purpose. But we must honestly say that from our perspective here at home this is not what the intent of the letter seemed to be. We first became aware of the letter on 15 June; the meeting of the Executive Committee of the LVSZ started on 16 June. The duplicate copies which were translated into Hungarian were "scattered" during the days of the presidential election. In all certainty this unmistakably raised the thought not only among the body of Hungarian Lutheran ministers but also among foreigners, that the letter-writer was attacking the bishop, more precisely, the presidential candidate of the Hungarian Lutheran Church, and calls into question the life and even the existence of our church. Many, including foreigners, have told me that this letter gave the impression of a "time bomb". It speaks of "terror" while using terrorist means. Many of us feel that he did not do this alone; it is as though he had help from many. This is certainly what we think was the intent of the letter and we do not accept the responsibility for the intent either.

/Finally, we do not accept responsibility for and condemn the means of the letter./ We must mention that the letter originated abroad. Until now we considered the letter-writer as introspective at times, but honorable. This is how we saw him; we listened to what he had to say in the LMK. We respected him. Now we no longer look at him in the same way, because Zoltan Doka knows best that it is possible to speak with Bishop Zoltan Kaldy; even if it was a long time ago, the letter-writer has already had serious discussions and debate with the Bishop. What were the results of this? Nothing disadvantageous. As far as we know, the Bishop's latest offer was the post of minister in Deak-ter; he even wrote us a book and we awaited his next book with the greatest expectation. The only thing that did not come to pass was the hope of an academic candidacy, because the other candidate had a higher theological degree. But we listened to Zoltan Doka; moreover, he could have expressed his opinions and written articles more often than he did. He even went abroad many times, whenever he wanted or requested it. Now why did he have to write this letter from abroad? According to the letter-writer, he has helped us. It is our opinion that he damaged our situation; at least it seemed that way for a few

days before the elections. But the letter nevertheless did not have the desired effect. The foreigners have now seen our church. Bishop Kaldy became the president by a large majority, and the entire church is pleased. Unfortunately, however, Zoltan Doka has departed from among us. With what theology can this step and method be explained? Wouldn't it have been more straightforward, if he had a problem, to state it at home? We are not saying that everything is in order here. Problems and difficulties may occur and do exist in small and large families; so too with us. But which of us exposes the family's dirty linen in public? We must say that we consider this method betrayal, with a theological bent.

We deeply regret what has happened, and it is no longer possible to undo it. We don't know what the future will bring. However, the LMK fraternity sends the following message to Zoltan Doka: it would have been better had he remained at home with us and together fought the struggle of faith and service with us.

Although I was unable to ask every minister because of summer vacations, I am writing this in the name of the majority of the Association of Ministers of the Diocese of Pest county.

9956

CSO: 2500/13

PZPR MEETING ON SOCIAL POLICY GOALS FOR 1985 DETAILED

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 38, 16 Sep 84 p 2

[Article by Halina Sterczynska]

[Text] The 1985 Central Annual Plan [CPR] proposals on social policy as well as opinions on the subject constituted the topic of discussion at the 7 September 1984 PZPR Central Committee Social Policy Commission session.

As a matter of fact, Prof Stanislaw Borkowska emphasized, the entire CPR is subordinate to social policy. It represents part of the national socio-economic plan, whose basic goals are designed to feed the nation, satisfy housing demands, improve the supply of basic consumer goods, and protect the poor.

Discussion of the 1985 plan is difficult, and this represents the last year of the 3-year plan, necessitating decisions under conditions of raw material and investment limitations and shrinking labor reserves. Therefore, it is necessary to consider reality and not only demands, at the time being mindful about agreement of proposed solutions with reform proposals.

Franciszek Kubiczek, first deputy chairman of the Planning Commission, provided the discussion background by bringing to mind the characteristics of the plan proposals and simultaneously presenting information on the initial results nearing completion of consultations on the plan.

Equilibrium and efficiency represent the basic goals of the plan. First and foremost they concern market equilibrium and the difference between national revenues and expenditures. This also concerns maintenance of this year's foreign trade balance and equalization of the national budget, upon which work is currently continuing. Decreased expenditures for construction and assembly work are designed, among other things, to restore equilibrium.

However, production growth should take place in accordance with proposals for increased work output, at the same time without increasing employment in industry. As surveys taken indicate, enterprises consider the accomplishment of this goal to be very difficult. Proposals concerning the material economy, where the enterprises must largely depend upon their own revenues rather than on increased deliveries of raw materials, met with a similar appraisal.

National income distribution assumes increased consumption participation at the cost of investment and accumulation. The majority of the enterprises participating in the plan proposals announced their support for the plan's first variant, which assumes an improvement in market equilibrium and that which follows or increased work motivation. This variant is based upon the maintenance of real wages (pensions and annuities) at the present level. The workers in factories with small profits favored the second variant. Insofar as the structure of the supply of goods on the market is concerned, the "automobile variant," which concerns the export of automobiles in exchange for basic commodities, also received support.

The enterprises criticized the appropriation of almost the entire employment growth for next year for the nonmanufacturing sector, which in many sectors is associated with the administration. First of all, this increase totals 21,000 for the health care sector, which represents a relatively large number, but is still below the proposals submitted by the Ministry of Health and the trade unions, which are demanding 25,000 to 28,000 employees. In addition, 10,000 employees are required in the education and upbringing field because of the number of children and the teaching load as defined by the Teachers Charter. Franciszek Kubiczek indicated that the Planning Commission respects this law and does not intend to propose a longer school day.

The basic factor defining the need for education is demographic, which therefore requires investment in this field. Next year the construction of 29 elementary schools, which otherwise would not be built in an acceptable time period, will be included in government orders. The minister of education and upbringing will also receive an extra 1 billion zlotys to finance local construction and repairs, which in any case does not exempt the provincial governors from realizing that the number of children is growing.

During the discussion, Prof Antoni Rajkiewicz referred to issues of the social infrastructure, specifically the educational infrastructure, and stressed its progressive destruction. The failure to accomplish the tasks in this area increases the unchanging social needs. There will continue to be a shortage of nurseries and day care centers, schools, and hospital beds. Prof Rajkiewicz proposed that emphasis be placed on school construction next year. He expressed his opinion that a child cannot be halted in its development, and we cannot tell a child that it should wait until there are enough schools. The commission expressed support for the PRON initiative of "national support for schools."

The problem of the state in the role of guardian surfaced during the course of the discussion, which often departed from the CPR proposals and touched upon broader socioeconomic issues. This subject was discussed on two levels. First, within the context of the analysis of principles governing various types of social benefits, such as allowances for maternity leave, continuation of unchanging principles for payment of the leave allowance, basing the allocation and amount upon family income and, strictly speaking, not changing

the income limits which affect allowance entitlement and gradually decreasing the number of women benefitting from it. Second, their professional deactivation prompts us to seek solutions which would limit it.

Many other social benefits are suffering from constant depreciation, and for this reason the system also requires analysis. Methods for establishing social and housing funds were also discussed. A significant number of social benefits depend upon the currently immobile and very low recompensation level.

Some of the participants, however, stressed that in discussing the state's role as guardian one must consider not only social benefits but also the subsidies for the enterprises.

The desire for market equilibrium represents one of the basic motives of the plan, and also one which is concerned with overcoming inflation. This can be achieved through simultaneous action upon the nation's revenues and increased market production. This, however, does not merely concern an increase in the aggregate amount but, in the public's view, appropriate distribution of the mix and quality of goods, of which a portion is not normally suitable for use. Also discussed was the problem of restructuring the economy, in which the raw materials and the supply industry dominate. Also associated with this is the problem of freezing investments for industries producing for the market. The majority of the discussion participants came out in support of the first plan variant, noting at the same time the need for effective work in order to overcome inflation.

The problem of disproportionate wages in the manufacturing and nonmanufacturing sectors is associated with the income of the population. Prof Borkowska determined that the CPR proposal advocating the equal growth of both groups would not equalize the inequalities. Great discrepancies persist which are disadvantageous to those working in difficult yet responsible and necessary professions, for example, in the health care sector. To a great degree, this also affects the quality of services performed by those employees.

In many of the groups the danger of poverty lingers on and, as noted in the discussion, the scope has not really increased, but this phenomenon continues to intensify within specific groups. At the same time, there is a lack of specific distinction, all the more so since there are areas of income redistribution about which almost nothing is known, and not only from the point of view of the CPR.

The issue of food rationing was also raised insofar as matters of food and the market supply are concerned. For the time being it is impossible to end it or restrict it (CPR proposals do not deal with this matter), although it was suggested that it would be worthwhile to consider ration card system flexibility, for example, by substituting goods which are in relatively good supply.

In addition to other matters and to the proposals submitted by enterprise representatives, discussion continued as to the need for a greater degree

of adaptation of education of personnel to the needs of the economy and the tasks resulting from technological advancement. As indicated, the most important aspect of its implementation was the opportunity to overcome the difficulties resulting from a lack of influence by workers.

This latter issue is also associated with the so-called escape from employment in the socialized sector to the private sector and abroad. A proposal was made that those who are sent abroad as enterprise representatives be obligated upon their return to come back to work for the same enterprise, and not, as frequently happens when they acquire wealth, take up another type of work. Such trips should be restricted to the most essential cases, in view of the situation which currently prevails on the domestic labor market.

In general, the commission recognized that in 1985 it would be necessary to undertake tasks which would halt such unfavorable phenomena as the disproportion between wages and employment, depreciation of social benefits, quality of services and goods, loss of these benefits, depreciation of fixed assets, and a decrease in the pace of housing construction. Furthermore, we need to try to stabilize the social arena, select the most important matters, and concentrate attention upon their rapid and successful solution.

12229

CSO: 2600/40

POLAND

PARTY LAUNCHES ANTICORRUPTION DRIVE

Officials Purged From Office

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Sep 84 pl

[Text] The central administration of Walbrzych Province and the provincial party organization recently received information, signals and expressions of public discontent over unfairness in the assignment of living quarters in two new residential housing projects built in this town.

Legal regulations on housing state that local housing is to be assigned to families living in the hardest conditions. The observation of these principles is especially important in Walbrzych, where many of the houses are in very poor condition and are or susceptible to damage from the mining operations there. It is urgent that the inhabitants of such houses find new quarters.

The complaints in this matter were taken up for study by the provincial prosecutor's office on initiative of the provincial PZPR committee and a commission directed by the Ministry of Administration and Territorial Management conducted its own independent investigation. Representatives of the PZPR Central Committee and the Walbrzych Provincial PZPR Committee participated in the commission's investigation.

It was determined that there had been numerous violations of housing assignment regulations in areas such as population norms, the assignment of apartments of equal size and value as substitute housing and the criteria on personal income per family member. The principle of openly-conducted assignments and referral to the public commission was also ignored.

In connection with the findings of the investigations, the decision was made to punish those persons who were guilty of violating the housing assignment regulations.

The following persons were removed from their posts:

-- Mayor of Walbrzych Jerzy Listwan, on the recommendation of the presidium of the Walbrzych Municipal People's Council;

-- Stanislaw Hajtman, director of the Housing Affairs Department of the Walbrzych City Offices;

-- Bronislaw Lesiak, director of the Department of Communal and Housing Management, Walbrzych City Offices.

On the recommendation of the minister of administration and territorial management, the chairman of the Council of Ministers mentioned the governor of Walbrzych Province, Wladyslaw Piotrkowski, and sharply rebuked the vice-governor, Jan Laganowski.

The governor of the province admonished the deputy director of the provincial office's department of communal and housing management, Ryszard Gorczynski.

With regard to guilty PZPR party members, the provincial party control commission strongly recommended that these persons be removed from membership in the party. Similar actions will be taken by the authorities of the SD and ZSL.

The minister of administration and territorial management recommended that the governor of Walbrzych Province appoint a special commission made up of representatives of his ministry and union and worker self-management organs to verify decisions on housing assignments on Blankowa Street in Walbrzych's Podzamcze settlement.

Policy Abuses Exposed

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Sep 84 p 4

[Article by Mieczyslaw Wodzicki: "Housing Under Special Supervision"]

[Text] As of Friday, the city of Walbrzych still did not know the content of the decision by the municipal people's council and the communique published today by the entire national press. We have seen no precedent in which municipal authorities were removed from office for housing violations. The inhabitants of Walbrzych say that their patience had reached its limits. Communal housing was received not by those who needed it most but by the people who were "in the club"...

This hard view on the problem comes from the fact that in Walbrzych one must wait for more than 10 years to receive an apartment. The waiting list for cooperative housing has 16,000 people and there are a further 1300 families qualified in the city offices for local housing. Meanwhile, the public housing construction plan for this year will only provide 458 units.

In Walbrzych, as much as 1200 out of 2664 buildings are qualified for general overhaul and 119 for demolition. At the present time, only 60 buildings are being modernized each year. The lack of new housing is worsened by mining damage and the number of existing buildings that are deteriorating with age.

A few days ago, the walls of another house in Walbrzych developed dangerous cracks and now the 7 families living there must be found another home.

According to Findings?

After a stormy session of the municipal people's council on 21 September, we met with the city and provincial authorities.

After a break in construction of a few years, the first 50 units of housing were turned over for habitation last year. This year, another 110 units were opened. It has now become possible to improve the difficult conditions of many families that cannot afford cooperative housing. There are still 249 families in Walbrzych today urgently in need of communal housing.

The vice mayor of Walbrzych, Jan Czajka, said: "The city offices have had to think about the living problems of the inhabitants of Walbrzych but they have also had to consider the future of the city. Walbrzych is in a difficult demographic situation because people are moving to other regions in which housing is easier to find. The city has a shortage of many necessary specialists such as doctors, architects, etc."

"The mayor of Walbrzych has therefore asked many of the institutions in the city to present their most urgent housing requirements. He said that new housing will bring in the most needed specialists from other regions. Unfortunately, certain matters in this regard have been neglected..."

Therefore, who has received housing?

In block 4c on Blankowa Street, 7 apartments are occupied by employees of the provincial health services, three by teachers and the rest by employees of provincial cultural and administrative bodies, retired persons and miners. In block 10c, only 56 apartments have been taken so far in the same manner of distribution. Assignments for the remaining housing have been withheld by decision of the housing authorities.

"The mayor's policy," said Antoni Foks, chairman of the municipal people's council, "was acceptable from the point of view of the public. Housing was also received by people necessary to the life of the city. However, the manner in which the assignments were made was really terrible. Out of the 50 housing units in the first block, there were 20 cases of gross violation of the regulations and out of the 56 units in the second, there were 28 such cases."

Who Receives Housing?

The commission appointed by the Ministry of Administration and Territorial Management and the Walbrzych Provincial Offices noted many irregularities in housing assignments. There were cases in which families not in need of housing received new homes. The principle of openly-conducted assignment and population norms were not observed. In many cases, no information could be found on the basis of the assignments because the list only gave the last name of the inhabitant.

Persons who had previously owned apartments were not considered. For example, the secretary of one of the city's institutions was considered indispensable and the athletes recently "bought" for the city's athletic club were counted as miners. Large 4- and 5-person apartments are sometimes inhabited by two while in many other houses, more than 10 persons are dwelling in one or two rooms.

The commission also noted some shocking violations of principles of social fairness. For example, the housing authorities themselves considered it a matter of urgency to remove 34 families from housing made dangerous for human habitation by mining operations. Meanwhile, block 4c received only one new family at the end of last year and block 10c received three. The remainder were "shoved" into housing opened up by the so-called movement of population. These houses were frequently in bad repair and lacking basic comforts. And these were the very people who were supposed to be the first to receive new housing!

For the same reason, the Ministry of Administration and Territorial Management authorized drastic action.

The Law Is the Same For Everyone

In an extraordinary session on Friday, the Walbrzych Municipal People's Council presented its recommendations to the provincial governor and recalled Jerzy Listwan from the post of mayor of Walbrzych.

According to the text of the resolution, Listwan was removed "for lack of supervision over the work of his deputy and the employees of the city offices."

The governor of Walbrzych Province, Wladyslaw Piotrkowski, said: "This affair has lasted many months and has been the cause of much public dissatisfaction. As early as March and April of this year, an examination of the housing services of the provincial offices revealed numerous violations in the assignment of housing in the first block. In May, an investigation was started. Since the course of the investigation was too slow, we were required to forcefully ask the mayor for an explanation. Furthermore, the provincial party control commission sent the matter of housing assignments to be investigated by the provincial prosecutor. At the end of August, the Ministry of Administration and Territorial Management began its own investigation, the result of which was that the minister prohibited further population of building 10c..."

The lack of any reaction on the part of the provincial authorities is surprising. Even during the course of the investigations, the authorities did not act to make proper decisions and it was only when the central authorities intervened that the illegal assignment practices were stopped.

Chairman of the Walbrzych Municipal People's Council Antoni Foks says that the council members were not notified about the incident by the residents who preferred to send anonymous complaints to Warsaw.

Does this mean that there is a lack of trust for the council members and their methods?

The council members say that they have twice reviewed cases of housing problems in Walbrzych. The provincial governor adds that the directors of administrative bodies and community services have been properly retrained in the new principles of housing policy. At a special conference of provincial town authorities and mayors on 19 September, the current regulations were reviewed and the Walbrzych incident was treated as a warning.

"I ordered the authorities and mayors," adds Walbrzych Provincial Governor Wladyslaw Piotrowski, "to analyze the legal basis for housing assignments recently made in the entire province. Wherever investigation by the provincial office reveals any violations in this area, strong personal sanctions will be taken."

Will the example of Walbrzych serve to discipline other cities and clean up housing assignment practices? Letters to the Central Committee, the government and the editorial board of our newspaper are full of complaints about unfairness in the assignment of residential housing. These complaints have been confirmed by investigations made by the Supreme Chamber of Control...

Therefore, the strong actions taken by the chairman of the Council of Ministers and the minister of administration and territorial management are completely justified and have been warmly received by the public in Walbrzych and throughout Poland. The law must be law and be the same for all.

The incident has also revealed the lack of control and the sluggish action taken by the local authorities. The Walbrzych Municipal People's Council will now have to analyze its methods in order to really be able to effectively represent the interests of the city's inhabitants.

When I left Walbrzych on Friday, the news about the dismissal had already spread among the inhabitants of the city. People were satisfied with the quick action taken by the central authorities. I was told that perhaps now, the people waiting in condemned housing would finally receive new houses and be able to live normally. It is, however, a shame that satisfactory measures were not taken by the local authorities...

12261

CSO: 2600/33

NEEDS, CHANGES IN HIGHER EDUCATION, INDUSTRY REVIEWED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 36, 8 Sep 84 pp 1, 10

[Interview with Warsaw Polytechnical Institute Rector Wladyslaw Findelsen by Marek Rostocki: "Is the Third Wave Taking Us?"]

[Text] [Question] This year, there were 2000 more applicants **for higher** studies than there were a year ago. The smallest numerical increase of applicants was in technical school. A career as an engineer seems to not inspire young Poles very much.

[Answer] The interest in technical studies has indeed dwindled. This is, however, part of a broader phenomenon. Interest in higher studies in general has gone down recently. Does this year's small increase indicate a lasting trend? If only that were so! Recent years have produced a situation which is really dangerous. For the first time in our postwar history, the desire among youth to pursue higher studies is breaking down. This may be a measure of the mood among our youth. Engineering careers? Much has been done to discourage it.

[Question] At the same time, the wave of the third industrial revolution in highly-developed countries is swelling not from year to year but from month to month. The wealth of these countries is based on industries saturated with the newest technology. There has already grown up in these countries an entire generation of young engineers and scientists connected with the "third wave" of technological and social changes, as this is called by Alvin Toffler.

[Answer] In Poland, many young people shrug their shoulders at the idea of a civilization based on the use of the intellect rather than natural resources. We can guess at the causes of this attitude but that does not change the fact that were this tendency to become lasting, this would constitute a grave danger to Poland. In the future, our people would as best be left on the sidelines of the dominant circle of civilization.

[Question] We do hear people say, however, that this is good, that young people are pragmatic: they start working at an earlier age, earn money and manage their own lives.

[Answer] A young, intellectually inspired person with some social ambition did not until recently imagine any future without study. This was natural, this striving to obtain high qualifications and desire to become better prepared for a quickly-changing world. Was this induced by pragmatism, a conscious orientation toward early earnings and quicker stabilization in life? From my own contacts with the pupils of middle schools, I have the impression that the reduced interest in higher education is often accompanied by a lack of any other idea of one's own future.

[Question] How about the ones that decide to pursue higher studies? Has any difference in their intellectual preparedness become obvious over the last 10 years or so?

[Answer] I have not seen any drop in the number of the most capable and talented candidates. As for the remainder...This year the entrance examinations yielded many candidates, but they say that it was an easy examination. A net cast in shallow water will not give you any big fish.

[Question] What about the later effects in the following years of study?

[Answer] There is always a group of students for whom it is a lifestyle to just somehow slide their way through school. They are not the ones that worry me. For some years now we have observed another new alarming phenomenon. There is an increasing number of good talented students that will do anything to delay graduation and the start of their professional lives. Things were not like that once.

[Question] Now would you explain that?

[Question] Fear of life outside of school. I can sense among students a fear of uninteresting work, of lack of prospects and of the unknown.

[Question] Isn't that just narcissism? After all, industry is no longer asking but begging for every new worker it can get.

[Answer] Young people have sharpened perceptions and see everything as if by infrared and ultraviolet. Maybe they are oversensitive. But the fact is that it was never the case before that good students would make such efforts to keep themselves in school. I am curious myself what the sociologists are saying about this.

[Question] The government recently reappointed you as rector of your school. What is your opinion of the new law on higher schools with regard to the finished academic elections? As we know, only Warsaw University is still awaiting its new rector.

[Answer] I think that the events as they have developed in our schools do not allow us to feed our fears of the practical effects of the election of academic rectors and deans. Of course, there will always be good and bad elections. Many of the elected academic officials are in office for the first time, the situation in the schools and the academic community is changing and many good scholars may have problems becoming administrators. This just means that every

election has its own element of risk. It would however be a delusion to feel that the nomination system does not carry its own risks. On the contrary, in the latter case, the risk is greater. In Poland's particular situation, the election of rectors and deans will result in much community trust and give school administrations an unquestionable mandate. The same rector or dean who is nominated without an election would face incomparably greater opposition in his school. My own feeling is that, in a year or two, the sober assessment of the presently elected academic officials will be positive.

[Question] You hold an elected position but you are an official all the same. Have there been or are any attempts being made to treat the rector not as an elected official but as a representative of part of the electorate?

[Answer] There are some colleagues who hold the mistaken belief that an elected rector must be watched carefully every day. This is obviously absurd. The reckoning of what I have done, if you will pardon the plain speaking, should be made at regular periods, especially at the end of the term. And to avoid any ambiguities or misunderstandings, I consider myself very responsible to those who have elected me, the youth of the school and its staff, the future of the school in general and its functioning. I do, however, expect that others have faith in my decisions and actions.

[Question] Here and there, people say that our schools have too little discipline.

[Answer] That is true and false. That charge makes us ask just what a higher school is supposed to be: just a factory producing specialists, an institution for development of technology or a research center?

[Question] All of the above at one time.

[Answer] That is right and since this is so, there must be a little looseness, a little time for reflection and a little gentleness between people at a school. Every attempt to organize a school along the lines of a factory or a military drilling ground would have to lead to a didactic and academic disaster. Science does not start at eight in the morning and end at four and new ideas are not formed in the heads of academic administrators. That's just the way things are. There exists still another real practical problem: the criteria for assessment of a higher school. I could talk about this at length but there is one thing I know and that is that a timeclock is not the answer.

[Question] The problems does, however, have another side. The articles by professors Napoleon Wolanski, Boguslaw Zernicki and Leszek Tomaszewski in recent issues of POLITYKA pointed out the flourishing of pseudoscience, lack of ethics and academic criticism and the bureaucratization of science. Three different persons voicing the same concerns in one week is no coincidence. There is something wrong behind the walls of our esteemed schools.

[Answer] A crisis of science? To some extent I agree and I think that it is good for the scholars themselves to speak openly about it. This may set in motion a self-correcting mechanism in science and learning that may produce some change in the situation.

We must, however, ask what are the causes of this crisis. Some 15 years ago, the notion of science and learning as an institution of national life was enormously expanded. The decision-makers of that time succumbed to the magic of large numbers: 200, 300 thousand persons employed in academia! In many cases, builders and technicians, for example, have been counted among the scholars, with bad results for both science and technology. Throwing everyone into the same big kettle would have to lower standards and destroy necessary differences. The fiction has begun to reproduce itself and the landslide of "science" as it was then viewed got out of hand and acted according to its own laws.

[Question] Professor Wolanski writes about the apathy of many scholars, the lack of drive and the exodus from laboratories to gardens.

[Answer] That is a view that has a lot of implications for or schools at the very least. The very presence of students and especially their right to select part of their lectures keeps us in a state of constant mobilization. Finally, it is not a nice feeling to lecture before an empty hall. After all, this sometimes has its consequences in the loss of a lecture. We also cannot hide the fact that work is encouraged by the opportunity it presents of going abroad. Foreign invitations to lecture and take part in conferences are usually personal by-name invitations. It must mean something for a scholar to travel abroad.

[Question] I have heard opinions that some dark forces are hindering trips abroad in any way they can and the contrary, that the situation is no worse than it was before 1930.

[Answer] Many scholars are going abroad. Out of the almost 2500 teachers at our school, almost 100 of them are presently working abroad on long-term contracts. We look with disfavor only on cases in which people prolong foreign trips above two years. The most capable and best people, thus the ones Poland needs most, travel abroad. We cannot encourage them to leave Poland for good and this is what happens when they stay abroad for longer periods.

[Question] I heard Polish scientists this year in the United States who said that were they sure they could travel abroad again some time in the future, they would return to Poland.

[Answer] That is just a case of our Polish feeling of instability because the approval of the school has nothing to do with whether they will be able to travel again. If I return, they say, maybe they will stop giving passports to the West in two years. I have my own opinion about this: if we are to survive, we must at all costs maintain our faith that things will return to normal.

[Question] I have also heard that there is some internal pressure at the school to hinder trips to the United States and West Germany.

[Answer] There are no such pressures. For a long time, there has only been the principle that long-term trips to these two countries are subject to acceptance by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology. In the overwhelming majority of cases, the minister accepts our recommendations for trips to the USA and West Germany. All other trips to the West are decided on by our school alone.

[Question] Cooperative work between technical schools of higher learning and industry has a long history of great hopes and bitter disappointments for both sides. What is the present situation with cooperation? Has economic reform changed anything?

[Answer] It is better than we **expected**. We had great anxieties that the economic crisis would freeze our school's contacts with industry. Meanwhile, the amount of research that we are doing for industry has steadily increased.

[Question] I am interested in your opinion on the plans to create a state committee for technological progress and a council on basic research. In an interview with POLITYKA, Professor Jan K. Kostrzewski, the chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences, saw much hope in the creation of these bodies.

[Answer] I am not a great optimist. The council is necessary and I believe that it will be a useful institution. As for the committee, I fear above all that it will become a bureaucracy. It may want to take everything under its own authority, every insignificant project involving a foreign license. The committee should define a strategy for technical progress. Only then will it serve its purpose. Let it be a bureau without bureaucracy. The same applies to the council on basic research. We need a strategy for science like a fish needs water.

Generally speaking, we must take a different view of the role of science in technological progress. The cycle theory continues to be fashionable in Poland: principal research, applied research, and implementation. In other words, primary research is supposed to determine what will enter production. At the same time, industry should announce the need for innovations. It is not science, not the Polish Academy of Sciences and the schools that determine the strategy for the development of industry. Our task is to keep up a level of basic research that will satisfy the needs of industry but I have to stress the fact that these needs must be determined by industry.

[Question] It is such a problem to effectively realize the strategy for science and technology under the frightful immobility of Polish scientists.

[Answer] This immobility is a fact. Where does it come from? Its greatest source is the excessive stabilization of the academic cadre. Schools and the institutes of the Polish Academy of Sciences have for many years had a diminishing influence on young people.

[Question] Is the position of a scientific worker supposed to be a sinecure then?

[Answer] Not at all but sometimes there is not much that can really be done due to lack of money. The whole problem is that our scientific personnel are really growing old. For years, they have not increased in number and at the same time, just the opposite as in the West, scientific workers in the 35-40 age group are not leaving institutions for work in industry and making space in our schools for younger people in their 20's. Just one example: There are 10-20 trainees at Warsaw Polytechnical Institute out of a total of 2500 academic teachers.

[Question] Just 10-20?! That's dramatic.

[Answer] Yes it is. Every year, we should have 100-200 trainees in order to effectively replenish our cadre and provide a good age structure.

[Question] How can the situation be changed?

[Answer] We must find a way to encourage people in the 35-40 age group to leave the school. These are people who have finished their doctoral degrees and are capable of many things but have no opportunities to find a post as a professor and a successful academic career. We have not yet found such a method in Poland.

[Question] And no one has any ideas?

[Answer] No one has any applicable ideas. In West Germany, when a scientist finishes his doctoral degree he must leave the school for industry if he wants to pursue his career. There are no exceptions. The situation is the same in Switzerland. In the United States, the system of competition and contracts for work in science creates an unceasing flow of people. Thanks to this, a crowd of youthful scientists flows through the schools. Let us plainly state that it is only young people that can really do new things in science and technology.

[Question] And doctoral studies?

[Answer] That was not a bad solution. At Warsaw Polytechnical Institute, we have had an average of 400 persons in doctoral studies. That already formed a great potential of youthful intellect and the desired flow of people as well. The new law on higher schools of learning abolished doctoral studies in these schools. In my opinion, that was a rash move.

[Question] Perhaps this move was based on the argument that only a small percent of the students actually received a doctoral degree.

[Answer] And that is very good. After all, it was not supposed to be a pipe that one entered as a master of science and left as a doctor of science. What we wanted was good doctors, for young people to get a taste of learning and that was an inexpensive solution.

[Question] In reference again to immobility: how can we shake up this sedentary in academic structure? It looks rather bad. Science is aging, the influx of young people is blocked, doctoral studies in schools of higher learning have been liquidated...Standing water.

[Answer] There is a way. We wanted to create a circle of small enterprises around the school. These enterprises would make use of the ideas going around the school, manufacture equipment and technological items and also develop software and organizational systems for industry. Since there exist and flourish small private Polish firms manufacturing scientific and measurement equipment, then why couldn't school-sponsored firms do the same? This would also be an ideal work place for persons 35-40 years of age who would thus give up their places in the school to younger people. I am not talking about rotation. Even good scholars must leave their schools to make way for youthful scholars.

[Question] Something has finally thought about this! In the nations with the greatest technological success, there have sprouted up small specialized firms around every school of higher learning.

[Answer] We have been trying to encourage this for a year. Everyone is for the idea but no one wants to establish concrete firms.

[Question] You are able to talk about contemporary science and technology almost automatically. You must, therefore, have an excellent understanding of the meaning of the third industrial revolution in which automation plays such a great role, the revolution in which we have taken the last place on the train.

[Answer] Twenty years ago, our situation was much better and we were leading the competition in automation. At this time, we are losing ground in two key areas, data processing and the production and use of robots. In some western countries, small shops use the type of small computer systems that we do not even have in our large factories.

Something other than the technological gaps worries me and that is our decreasing ability to compete with the world. After all, as early as 1954, the first prototype digital computer in the socialist countries operated on Sniadeckich Street here in Warsaw.

[Question] The philosophical dictionary of that time defined cybernetics as a "bourgeois science."

[Answer] But computer XYZ worked! Today we all say how important technological progress is, discuss structural changes in our economy and call out for the modernization of industry. Meanwhile, we are becoming more and more behind in the automation of our industry.

[Question] The Japanese are designing factories without people, ones that are totally automated.

[Answer] I do not find that very fascinating. Maybe I am speaking against my own interests, but sometimes I am struck more by the technological future of agriculture and the quality of milk that we have had to drink for so many years than by the future of automation in Poland. Create a vision of automation of our industry? That may be good, but first I would like to meet an economist

who can show me in black and white whether we have too small or too great a working force. I would also have to know what our industry's strategic policy must be: ships or agricultural machinery, communication with the world or autarchy? This leads us to the question of whether the economic system creates a framework that will allow a really profitable use of technology or just a superficial and nonsensical one. If you are waiting for me to present you with a vision of a "third Poland, electronic and automated," then I have nothing to say.

[Question] What I really meant to ask was whether Polish science corroded by the weaknesses we have discussed here is in any condition to help our industry meet the challenges of the "third wave"?

[Answer] In my opinion, it is, but only within a reformed economy which is aggressive and able to compete, one which is forced to find new technological ideas and one which is not choked by administrative obstructions. It must also be an economy that is subordinated to a well thought-out, long-term selective strategy.

12261

CSO: 2600/36

PLANS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Sep 84 pp 1, 5

[Press conference given by B. Miskiewicz, minister of science, higher education and technology]

[Text] During the new academic year at the 87 state schools of higher education of all types, there will be 360,000 day students, including over 50,000 newly admitted first-year students.

In the new academic year, the schools will have 14 new structures for teaching purposes, two student dormitories, three hostels for instructors and two cafeterias.

The most important tasks and problems which should dominate the agenda of higher schools during the 1984-85 academic year were presented by Prof Benon Miskiewicz, minister of science, higher education and technology, at a meeting with journalists on 26 September in the Government Press Office.

Every academic year is special depending on the emphasis given to various types of activities and to various tasks. This year, the emphasis will be on efforts to rebuild the upbringing function and on the full return of schools to their socialist character. The achievement of this basic objective, in addition to the educational and scientific ones, will provide a practical check of proper understanding and use of the self-governing status accorded to higher schools by the Higher Education Law. Fully satisfactory fulfillment of the duty to form students' behavior should be the basis for reactivating the broader social function of higher schools. The essence of this function is to make an impact on social consciousness and the formation of desirable attitudes. The fulfillment of this function will signify that the academic circles have joined the normalizing process of social life in the country. This task is just as important as increasing the contribution of higher education's scientific potential to the research whose results will serve to accelerate an end to our country's economic crisis.

To achieve these objectives, it is necessary to integrate the academic community, by overcoming the divisions that persist at certain schools, with the scientific cadre. It is necessary to work to free initiatives and to combat the harmful attitudes of passivity and lack of involvement. The creation of

an atmosphere of hard work and full use of the academic cadre's energy and abilities is one of the most important tasks of the new school management.

The academic year which starts in a few days is also a special time because the higher education schools will be managed by the new school authorities elected for a 3-year tenure in accordance with the law. As was decided at the meeting of rectors with the top officials of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology, which ended this week, school authorities will start preparing without delay operating programs for their schools. These programs will cover not only the 3-year period of these authorities' tenure but also the direction of specialization and scientific orientation of those schools through the year 2000. From the point of view of continuity of scientific efforts, this period is not too far away. At the same time, these programs will accommodate the current needs and the tasks which will be included in the 5-year socioeconomic development plan that will start to be implemented next year.

It is also expected that the scientific community in the higher schools will use the coming academic year for active participation in preparations for the Third Congress of Polish Science planned for October 1985.

Among the more important matters addressed by the minister in response to questions was the ministry's preparation of an evaluation of how well the Higher Education Law has been accepted and implemented.

Another matter addressed in response to a question of a RZECZPOSPOLITA reporter was the use of the self-governing authority vested in higher schools for modernizing study programs and perfecting teaching methods. The minister responded that in many schools the newly introduced study programs have the right balance between centrally determined general subjects and other subjects determined by individual schools. In many instances the opportunity to determine the study programs was used to broaden the study of subjects related to the school scientific specialization and to modify the program to accommodate regional needs. Minister Miskiewicz added that more work to modernize study programs will be done in cooperation with science teaching teams, which will determine the desirable characteristics for graduates in various specialties with due regard for practical preparation.

8801

CSO: 2600/54

LEGAL REQUIREMENTS FOR WORKING ABROAD

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish 2 Oct 84 pp 567-568

[Text] Decree of the Council of Ministers No 243 Dated 3 September 1984
Concerning Requirements in the Area of Personal and Professional Qualifications
of Persons Sent To Work Abroad

On the basis of Article 298 of the Labor Code (DZIENNIK USTAW 1974, No 24,
item 141; 1975, No 16, item 91; 1981, No 6 item 23 and 1982, No 31, item 214),
the following is decreed:

Paragraph 1. 1. The decree defines the requirements in the area of the
personal and professional qualifications of those persons, henceforth known
as "employees," sent to work abroad by state offices and other state
organizational units, and in particular by state enterprises, scientific-
research institutes, higher schools, public health service facilities and
artistic institutions and institutions for disseminating culture.

2. The decree likewise applies to journalists sent to work abroad by
newspaper editors and press agencies as foreign correspondents.

Paragraph 2. 1. An employee may be sent to do the work specified in paragraph
1 who:

- 1) is a Polish citizen,
- 2) has reached the age of 18 and is fully capable of legal action and
makes full use of public laws,
- 3) has the appropriate training and professional preparation necessary
for executing his work, including documented mastery of the foreign
language to the degree indispensable for the execution of his work,
- 4) through his civic attitude and ethical-moral level guarantees the
proper representation and protection of the interests of the Polish
People's Republic as a socialist state and the proper behavior both
at work and outside of work,
- 5) guarantees the preservation of state and official secrets, in accordance
with the law dated 14 December 1982 concerning the protection of state
and official secrets (DZIENNIK USTAW No 40, item 271) and with the
regulations issued on its basis,
- 6) has at least 5 years of professional work experience in Poland.

2. An employee may not embark upon any other work abroad without the approval of the organ that sent him there to work.

Paragraph 3. 1. An employee employed in a Polish organizational unit abroad is subject to assessments of qualifications according to the procedure and principles defined in separate regulations.

2. The assessments are made by the director of the organizational unit employing the employee or by the director of the superior organizational unit. The director of the organizational unit may appoint a commission to perform this task.

3. The assessment of qualifications has the purpose of ascertaining the suitability of the employee to execute work abroad.

4. The following are primarily subject to the assessment of qualifications:

- 1) the quality and effectiveness of duties performed,
- 2) the employee's commitment to the implementation of state policy and to the protection of the interests of the Polish People's Republic,
- 3) the observance of state and official secrets,
- 4) the position of the employee in the community in which he works and abides and his impact on this community on behalf of the interests of the Polish People's Republic,
- 5) the observance of the regulations in force in the country in which he is employed.

Paragraph 4. An employee sent to work abroad is recalled if he loses the qualifications defined in paragraph 2 or if he receives a negative assessment of qualifications, or due to special interests of the state.

Paragraph 5. The regulations of the decree apply correspondingly to:

- 1) persons occupying leadership and independent positions in the units named in paragraph 1 that organize cooperation with foreign countries,
- 2) persons sent to work in international organizations and institutions.

Paragraph 6. The decree comes into force on the date of its pronouncement.

[signed] Chairman of the Council of Ministers: by Z. Messner acting in his name

8536
CSO: 2600/64

IMPACT OF NEW PRESS LAW EVALUATED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Oct 84 p 6

[Interview with Dr B. Michalski, director of the Institute of Journalism,
by Marzanna Bajor: "Muzzle or Assistance"]

[Text] The press law has been in effect for two full months now (since 1 July). This is too short a period to attempt any kind of summation, but it is long enough to have gathered initial experiences. The main one is as follows: constantly insufficient knowledge of the law, even though a great deal has already been done to have its content reach all parties concerned. We note without modesty that RZECZPOSPOLITA has made its own contributions in this regard, due to its issuance of the brochure "Press Law" (which is still available in some "Ruch" kiosks). Today's "Laws and Decrees" column has a similar purpose.

[Question] Journalists complain that there are still considerable difficulties in obtaining information.

[Answer] This is understandable, since neither the journalists themselves nor their sources have become accustomed to the new legal situation. After all, the very fundamental authorization for the press to obtain information from persons obligated to provide it (article 4 of the press law and the regulations in the Council of Ministers decree of 9 July 1984 on making information available to the press) cannot conceal the fact that the journalist has to know how to obtain this information.

[Question] The desire to retain anonymity, the limitation on access to people working in an institution, shielding oneself behind official secrets--these are the main failings of our interlocutors.

[Answer] Persons informing the press by force of law, or acting publicly (e.g., judges and lawyers) cannot require that their names not be given. There is no such regulation, while the restrictions provided for in article 14, points 3 and 5 of the press law apply to the content of the information, and not the name of the person providing it.

The limitation of a journalist's opportunity to establish direct contact with persons working in a given institution by its management or spokesmen is a violation of the regulation in article 11, point 3 of the press law and of section 4 of the above-mentioned decree. The only possible limiting factor is the need to keep a secret protected by law--but the one refusing has to indicate this clearly, and not just cite secrets not more precisely defined. "Shielding oneself" behind official secrets has a tradition of its own, and in such a case journalists should seek a written justification of the refusal, which will undoubtedly incline their interlocutors to a more substantive conversation.

A journalist may not, however, disrupt the normal flow of activity at an institution (a factory, etc.), and consequently the time for free and unsupervised contact with workers is a matter to be agreed upon. It should be added here that independently of these means, every citizen (article 5 of the press law) can give information to the press, as long as he acts within the limits permitted by law. Consequently this is a "loophole" providing the possibility of contact with sources without the knowledge and agreement of spokesmen or directors. It should be recalled, however, that the legal position of such a source is different; among other things, he has a right to anonymity, since he is not acting officially.

[Question] Also difficult is the problem of cooperation with spokesmen, who try to monopolize information and to perform a sort of censorship role.

[Answer] Certainly this is not an easy problem, especially since many spokesmen are journalists by profession. Aside from all the regulations, it should be recalled that the functions of journalists and spokesmen are different. The latter are obligated mainly to be concerned about the interests of their employers, which can be understood in one way by the spokesman and in a different way by the journalist. And we should not succumb to the stereotypical view; the journalist will not always be the one who is right...

In practice, however, certain untolerated actions by spokesmen occur, such as restricting the press' contacts only to the spokesman in person, creating "lists" of journalists who are viewed well or are on a sort of blacklist, tendencies to censor texts, etc. The issue of the so-called censorship of journalists' materials is not a completely unambiguous one, however. A spokesman is not authorized to be a censor (although possibly some of them think that such authority would be useful to them as a "whip for dishonest journalists"), but he can--on the basis of an agreement with a journalist--ascertain that the latter has fulfilled an agreement within the sphere provided for in article 14, points 3 and 5 of the press law; among other things, this has to do with a situation in which a journalist has been given more information than can be published with respect to the protection of a secret.

[Question] The rules on court reporting are also not making our lives easier. Aren't they a limitation on freedom of speech?

[Answer] Throughout the entire world, the interests of the administration of justice (associated with rulings by the courts) and the information interests of the press (often seeking sensations, which is after all a normal phenomenon) are not in agreement with each other. This problem is resolved differently in different countries. For example, there are countries where television is not permitted in the court chamber. The Polish solution, from the point of view of the interests of the press, is rather of an intermediate nature. It does not limit it excessively, but it does make life considerably more difficult for those hunting for cheap sensations.

The ban on prejudging the result of proceedings before the sentence and instances are issued is fully justified, in my opinion. It is not possible in this stage to permit the emergence of a so-called press trial. On the other hand, criticism of a sentence is not limited by any particular prohibitions.

The restrictions associated with making public the names of suspects and defendants are simply a consequence of the fact that this constitutes an additional affliction. Consequently, permission from the court or the prosecutor is required. It can only be issued, however, when an important social interest requires this.

A certain problem for many journalists is, on the other hand, the full protection of information related to witnesses and those who have been wronged or injured; this information can only be given with their permission. One will just have to become accustomed to this until there are new regulations.

On the other hand, there are no prohibitions with respect to giving the names of judges, prosecutors, lawyers, fugitives, etc. On the whole a bit more has to be taken into account than previously, but this is not a limitation on freedom of speech. The administration of justice is a superior value with respect to the sensationalization of reports, and furthermore one must recall the interests of the victims.

[Question] Authorization is the next source of misunderstandings.

[Answer] With respect to the press law, this right to authorize a text applies only to a statement that is quoted verbatim (article 14, point 1). The journalist does not even have an obligation to propose authorization; he cannot, however, refuse a request from the party concerned.

Other issues are associated with the regulations of civil law (the protection of personal goods) and copyright law, and situations in which there is an agreement between the journalist and the party concerned. The latter is associated, for example, with information that can be published only with the agreement of another party, just as facts from private life, the name of a witness in a trial, biographical data, etc. Furthermore, the obligation for authorization with long forms (e.g., commentaries) can occur when the journalist, instead of his own account, presents matters in the form of a statement by the party concerned.

[Question] When do we have protected criticism, and when is there a violation of the law associated with responsibility?

[Answer] The definition of criticism as a circumstance evading legal responsibility is a new solution in Poland. Consequently, many misunderstandings have occurred and will do so for a long time to come with respect to article 41 of the press law. An example, for instance, is the quotation in the brochure published by RZECZPOSPOLITA of one of the most incorrect decisions by the Supreme Court (DECISIONS OF THE SUPREME COURT, 19 September 1968), completely inconsistent with article 41 of the press law, and the omission, for example, in the fundamental law of the Supreme Court in 1965 in regard to criticism.

Permissible criticism consists of the right to a negative assessment of someone else's action or activities, provided that such an assessment is honest and in agreement with the principles of social life, i.e., among other things, with the good customs accepted in a given milieu. The norms of the Journalists' Code of Ethics are particularly important. The difference between violation of the law and permissible criticism is mainly that in criticism the subject of the assessment is work or activity and not a person; a negative assessment, even a very harsh one, is based on true facts (excluding esthetic assessments) and is honest in its description. It is not permissible to introduce abusive elements or ones having the nature of particular malice, nor to use fraudulent methods to conduct disputes.

These boundaries are sometimes very subtle and it will simply be necessary to learn to use criticism...

I would like to call attention to the fact that the implementation of article 41 of the press law--which is beneficial for journalists, after all--will require unusually diligent verification of the decisions of the Supreme Court with respect to criticism, since along with very valuable decisions there are also inappropriate verdicts, the theses of which are contrary to article 41 of the press law.

[Question] Why are there so many misunderstandings about corrections and answers?

[Answer] It would be amazing if there were none. Even in countries that have an uninterrupted tradition of over 150 years in this area (West Germany, France), there are a great many such matters. The contradictions between the editorial board and the party concerned are sometimes so large that they can only be resolved in a court hearing. In Poland, however, usually the editorial board and the parties concerned do not comply with the regulation in articles 31-33 of the press law, and consequently in most cases the letters that come to the editorial board have the formal nature of a letter to the editor and not a correction or answer. But they should be treated as such. After all, the editorial board can eliminate a great deal of trouble if it issues corrections on its own initiative for untrue or inaccurate news even before a possible correction is sent in.

The correction procedure (including answers) has been worked out fairly precisely from the legal aspect; a bit of time is needed, however, for editorial boards and the parties concerned to learn how to use them.

9909

CSO: 2600/47

BRIEFS

PZPR AUDIT COMMISSION MEETING--The Presidium of the party Central Audit Commission met on 19 October. The Commission Presidium reviewed the degree of progress made toward the implementation of the recommendations and resolutions made at the 14th Plenum of the party Central Audit Commission and at the conference of provincial party audit commission chairmen held at the beginning of September. The Presidium discussed tasks facing party audit commissions at all levels that derive from the resolution passed by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo on work to be done by the party to enhance the performance effectiveness of its audit bodies. The meeting was chaired by Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the party Central Audit Commission. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20-21 Oct 84 p 2]

SUPREME AUDIT BODY MEETS--The Collegium of the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK) met on 19 October to discuss the national system of inspections and audits. One of the topics raised during the discussion period was the need to identify the reasons for the ineffectiveness of audits and inspections. It was pointed out that this is only partially the fault of the agencies which carry out these audits and inspection, whereas this is largely attributable to the way in which post-audit findings are utilized. The president of the NIK, Gen. Div Tadeusz Hupalowski, attended the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20-21 Oct 84 p 2]

MICHAEL HARBOTTLE VISIT--On 19 October 1984 at the headquarters of the All-Poland Peace Committee journalists met with General Michael Harbottle of Great Britain who is on a visit to Poland. General Harbottle is a representative of the "Generals for Peace and Disarmament Group," which has been active since 1981 as a part of the Central for International Peace Studies in London and whose ranks consist of retired senior military officers from all of the NATO countries. The guest briefed the journalists on the aims of this group and its forms of activity. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20-21 Oct 84 p 2]

MILITARY AWARDS FOR JOURNALISTS--At POLISH PRESS AGENCY headquarters on 19 October a group of distinguished journalists and press agency employees were decorated with the medal "For Contributions in Service of the National Defense." The medals were presented by Gen Bde Professor Leslaw Wojtasik, deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20-21 Oct 84 p 2]

SZCZECIN SECURITY FORCES HONORED--In recognition of its special contributions to the preservation of law and order in the Szczecin region the Council of State has awarded the Order of the Banner of Labor second class to the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs in Szczecin. An award ceremony, during which the standard of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs was decorated with the order, was held on 17 October at the Waly Chrobrego fortifications site in Szczecin. The ceremony was attended by local governmental leaders and numerous representatives of workplaces and youth organizations. The act of decoration was performed by Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and secretary to the PZPR Central Committee. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Oct 84 p 2]

WRITERS UNION, MILITARY COOPERATION--A meeting was held on 17 October to review the record of cooperation between the armed forces and the Polish Writers Association and ascertain the prospects and directions of its further advancement. The meeting was attended by Gen Div Dr Tadeusz Szacilo, first deputy chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces. The meeting was also attended by deputy chiefs in the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces: Gen Bde Professor Leslaw Wojtasik, chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Administration, and Gen Bde Albin Zyto, chief of the Culture and Education Administration. The Main Council of the Polish Writers Association was represented by Professor Jerzy Prokopczuk, the organization's president, and Stanislaw Lweicki, vice president, Franciszek Bernas, general secretary and also Wojciech Kus and Marek Malinowski. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Oct 84 p 2]

CSO: 2600/130

INCREASE IN POPULATION OF WORKING AGE EXPECTED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian Jul-Aug 84 pp 342-346

[Article by Vasile Ghetau: "The Population of Working Age in the Year 2000-- Volume and Structural Changes"]

[Text] The active (employed) population*, i.e. the population working in one of the branches of the national economy, is a numerically important section of the entire population of a country (and thus a subpopulation) the size of which depends, on the one hand, on the total size of the population and its age structure, and on the other hand, on the intensity of participation in economic activity by ages and to other factors and varies in relationship to the level and type of socioeconomic development (including length of education and regulations governing pension retirement.)

The employed population at the beginning of 1983 was 10.4 million people, which is 46 percent of the entire population of the country. In the 1970's and in the first years of the current decade the employed population showed a moderate tendency to decline (in 1970 it was over 48 percent). In relation to age, the active population (employed) presents important particularities: activity rates are null or insignificant for the young population (0-15 years) and rapidly dropping for the advanced ages (particularly after 60 years). Thus, the volume of the working age population, a volume which in turn results --at a given time--from the combined effect of the birth and mortality rates over a period of 60 years.

The working age population which makes the object of the present study is that of women between 16-54 years of age and men between 16-59 years (these figures apply to rounded years). This classification, done according to the labor legislation of our country, requires certain care in evaluating statistic data because some people continue carrying out paid economic activities after the age of 55 or 60; however, we will adopt this classification for the purposes of our study because of the homogeneity that it affords the subpopulation outlined and because it provides a point of reference indispensable for statistic studies.

* "Active" population is the term used at a census, while "employed" population is the concept used inbetween censuses. As opposed to the active population, the employed population does not include persons doing their military service and persons who are in the process of changing jobs. The differences are statistically minor.

On 1 January 1983 the employed population was 84 percent of the population of working age. Despite the imperfect correspondence between the two sub-populations due to the above mentioned reasons, a forecast study of the population of working age is implicitly and in fact a forecast on the employed population. A forecast concerning the population of working age in the 1983-2000 period is the subject of this study.

At the beginning of 1973 the population of working age was 12.4 million people, which was 55 percent of the entire population. The working age population increased by 800,000 in comparison to 1970; the average annual increase was of 64,000 persons. Naturally, within this period the average annual increases varied in keeping with long-term birth and mortality rates, those being the two factors that determine both the volume and the age structure of the population under discussion. Thus, in the 1970-1975 period the average annual increase was of 113,000 persons; in the following 5-year plan period it dropped to 59,000, and it recorded an annual drop of 25,000 persons in the 1980-83 period. A brief analysis of increases and drops in the working age population in the periods of reference (direct consequences of the birth rate) explains these variations in the rate of growth of the working age population after 1970. For example, the drop in the later years is due to a negative birth rate in the years 1964-66 (additions to the population of working age) while losses were relatively higher (survivors of the generations born in the first half of the third decade).

What will be the future growth of the working age population?

The period under survey is that between 1983 and 2000, a period in which the working age population will be made up of the survivors of the generations now alive. The future changes of the birth rate--an element very difficult to foresee precisely (in general, and particularly in the present conditions) will thus not influence the growth of the working age population by the end of the century. On the other hand, that factor is influenced by the birth rate in the 1967-83 period (additions to the working age population) and in the 1923-44 period (losses to the working age population), as well as by the mortality rate in the 1983-2000 period. The method employed is thus a projection of the population in 1983 according to sex and age (0-59 years) for the period ending in the year 2000. The mortality rate table used is that for the years 1981-82.

In the 1983-2000 period the working age population will continuously increase; the growth will be relatively homogenous from the viewpoint of intensity, but will be moderate. (Table 1) The average annual increase for the entire period will be of 84,000 (0.6 percent a year), higher than the average annual increase in the 1975-83 period, which was 31,000. Annual increase variations are determined almost exclusively by variations in workforce additions, and constitute the effect of birth rate fluctuations in the 1966-83 period. As for the implications for the planning of the workforce and of jobs, noteworthy are the particular increases of 1983-85, which followed the addition of the large generations born in the 1967-69 period.

Generally speaking, growth of the working age population by the year 2000 can be considered as favorable from an economic viewpoint; a continuous, moderate, and relatively homogenous increase is expected.

The Population of Working Age (16-54 women; 16-59 men) in the 1983-2000 Period
(Size, additions, losses, annual growth)

Year	Size at beginning of the year (thousand persons)	Additions during the year (persons entering their 16th year)		Losses during the year of which:			Size at the end of the year (thousand persons)	Growth during the year in thousands percentage		
		Generation	Size (thousand persons)	TOTAL (thousand persons)	Death (thousand persons)	Persons becoming 55 (59) years of age		Size (thousand persons)		
1983	12361.2	1967	488.5	297.2	44.1	1923+28	253.1	12552.4	191.2	1.6
1984	12552.4	1968	484.3	303.1	44.4	1924+29	258.7	12733.6	181.2	1.4
1985	12733.6	1969	430.1	314.3	41.5	1925+30	269.8	12849.3	115.8	0.9
1986	12849.3	1970	399.0	306.6	44.7	1926+31	261.9	12941.7	92.4	0.7
1987	12941.7	1971	374.7	322.0	44.7	1927+32	277.3	12994.4	52.7	0.4
1988	12994.4	1972	370.8	311.7	44.8	1928+33	266.9	13053.5	59.1	0.5
1989	13053.5	1973	361.4	311.9	44.9	1929+34	267.0	13103.1	49.5	0.4
1990	13103.1	1974	400.6	319.5	44.8	1930+35	274.6	13184.2	81.2	0.6
1991	13184.2	1975	395.6	322.0	44.6	1931+36	277.5	13257.8	73.6	0.6
1992	13257.5	1976	397.1	332.3	44.6	1932+37	287.6	13323.4	64.9	0.5
1993	13322.4	1977	403.7	316.8	44.7	1933+38	272.1	13409.3	87.0	0.7
1994	13409.3	1978	397.3	315.9	44.7	1934+39	271.2	13490.7	81.4	0.6
1995	13490.7	1979	391.4	307.8	44.8	1935+40	263.0	13574.3	83.6	0.6
1996	13574.3	1980	381.1	301.0	44.8	1936+41	256.2	13654.5	80.2	0.6
1997	13654.5	1981	364.3	294.5	44.9	1937+42	249.6	13724.2	69.8	0.5
1998	13724.2	1982	330.0	284.5	45.1	1938+43	239.4	13799.7	45.5	0.3
1999	13769.7	1983*	308.0	292.8	45.3	1939+44	247.5	13784.9	15.2	0.1
2000	13784.9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

* The actual, and not the projected number of newly born was taken into consideration.
Note: Because figures were rounded up to the next thousand, (insignificant) differences may appear in computation in certain cases.

Neither will the age structure, examined at the level of 4 groups (16-24 year-olds, 25-34, 35-44, and 40 year-olds and over) record considerable change, since the great variations in the size of some generations (those of the mid 1960's and those affected by the war) will balance each other out. The data given in Table 2 is significant in this respect.

Table 2

Structure of the Population of Working Age According to
Age Groups in 1983-2000

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>16-24 YEARS</u>	<u>25-34 YEARS</u>	<u>35-44 YEARS</u>	<u>45 and OVER</u>
1983	100	21	28	22	29
1984	100	22	28	21	29
1985	100	23	28	21	28
1986	100	24	27	21	28
1987	100	24	27	22	27
1988	100	25	26	22	27
1989	100	26	25	23	26
1990	100	26	24	24	26
1991	100	27	23	25	25
1992	100	28	22	25	25
1993	100	27	23	26	24
1994	100	26	24	26	24
1995	100	26	25	25	24
1996	100	26	25	25	24
1997	100	26	25	25	24
1998	100	25	26	24	25
1999	100	25	27	23	25
2000	100	24	27	23	26

The classification we adopted is one of several possibilities, and the choice was designed to highlight the relative changes of the young, adult, and aged population (of working age). The 16-24 years old population will record a rather considerable increase by the first years of the coming decade (from 21 to 28 percent) after which, once the 1967-69 generations leave this age group, its weight will drop, but will still remain at levels higher than those of 1983. An exactly opposite development will be recorded in the population of 25-34 years old, while the population of the 35-44 age will remain more homogenous. Finally, the population of 45 years old and older, which will exceed 25 percent by 1990, will moderately decline after that year and will return to a similar size in 1999-2000. Were we to take a simpler classification, namely 16-34, and 35-44 and over, we would easily perceive that sizes will fluctuate insignificantly around a 50 percent value throughout this period, a fact which attests to the homogenous structure of the working age population until the end of the century.

What relationship can we establish between the employed population and the working age population? At the beginning of 1983 the employed population was

10.428 million, which was 84 percent of the working age population. This relationship is not without a certain significance if we consider its dynamics and examine the factors responsible for change. However, the terms of the relationship are neither homogenous nor perfectly comparable. In point of fact, the employed population also comprises persons of ages other than those we took into calculation to define the working age population. A more correct and undeniably significant relationship is that between the employed population of 16-54(59) years of age and the entire population of the same age. Such a relationship would show the rate of employment of the working age population and thus potential resources, elements extremely useful for planning.

Since we do not have figures indicating the number of employed persons according to age, we will retain our estimates and will use the data furnished by the 1977 census. At the date of the census--5 January--the active population was 10.793 million. On 1 January--which is practically the same date--the employed population was 10.227 million. The difference between the two populations was 567 thousand (5 percent) and resulted from the (already mentioned) slightly different contents of the two indexes. At the census, the active population of 16-54 (59) years of age was 9.221 million (which means an 81 percent rate of activity). If we take that this population was also 5 percent larger than the employed population of the same age (16-54(59)), we can estimate that on 1 January 1977 the employed population of 16-54(59) years of age was 9.425 million, i.e. 77 percent of the entire working age population, at that date. On the basis of that ratio we can estimate the employed population of 16-54(59) years of age at the beginning of 1983 at 9.549 million persons, which is 2.8 million less than the entire working age population. There is a certain extent of approximation in our calculations, but the interest presented by such calculations is undeniable. However, to extrapolate them after 1983 is dangerous, in view of the multitude of factors that may occur.

We must add a few explanations about the exactness of our forecast. The fact that the limit of our forecast is the year 2000, thus eliminating the effects of the birth rate changes (after 1983) which are hard to predict, already ensures a great measure of precision for the results of our forecast. In our view, the fact that we adopted a constant mortality rate--that defined in the mortality table for 1981-82--for the entire period, cannot detract from precision, nor is it a factor of caution and reservations in estimating this precision. To begin with, the mortality rate for the ages taken into consideration is low, and possible changes in trends and intensity (excluding unforeseeable factors and elements) can only be minor and thus can only have insignificant and slight effects on the volume of the working age population by 2000. Secondly, a careful analysis of the mortality rate in the last decade reveals certain contradictory tendencies and characteristics which, at least for the time being, require caution in projecting future changes. For these reasons, the hypothesis we adopted seems to us well-founded and realistic.

Seen through a demographer's eyes, the working age population will record a favorable change both from the viewpoint of rate of growth and from that of age structure, and both these factors can be described as economically advantageous.

TRANSYLVANIA REVOLUTION OF 1784 COMMEMORATED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Sep 84 pp 1, 4

[Article by University Professor Dr Constantin Corbu: "1784--A Brilliant Testimony of the Great Revolution Resources of the Popular Masses"]

[Text] The modern era of Romanian history witnessed at its dawn a national and popular revolution which was the first in the country and on the continent to launch objectives of a particular historical novelty and of a profoundly radical character valid in their substance for the entire era. This was the revolution of 1784 in Transylvania, whose 200th anniversary we mark this fall. Together with the revolution of 1821 it defined the united programmatic objectives with which the inhabitants of this land entered the modern era, objectives centered primarily on the ideal of national unity among all Romanians as a basis for fulfilling aspirations for social justice. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "The Transylvanian revolution of 1784 led by Horea, Closca, and Crisan and the 1821 revolution led by Tudor Vladimirescu in Wallachia forcefully highlighted the great revolutionary resources of the popular masses and the overpowering aspiration for unity of the three Romanian principalities."

Through the 1784 revolution the Romanians joined the mainstream of peoples seeking to secure a future based on the progressive ideals of the time, and thus joined the ranks of the forgers of the new spirit that was sweeping Europe at that time. The scope of the great revolt led by Horea, Closca, and Crisan verify the fact that it was a genuine revolution, since it was aimed at practically eliminating the obsolete feudal system and its political regime at the same time. This fact clearly emerges from both the deliberate preparation of the revolution and from its program--one of the most progressive and radical of the time in all Europe--which reflected the level of political consciousness of its authors; the revolutionary character of the revolt is also attested by the forces engaged in the struggle--the forces of renewal in Romanian society--by its achievements--the system of social justice and national freedom established for the duration of the victory of the revolution--and by its profound consequences on the entire evolution of the Romanian people.

The factors which prepared the great uprising of 1784 clearly demonstrate that they were converging toward a revolution and were urgently demanding it. Primarily, they were not factors emerging from immediate circumstances, but from powerful and long historical antecedents and from the general economic,

social, and political requirements of the Romanian society. Nicolae Densusianu, recognized for his studies of that period, concluded that the Romanian people revolted in 1784 because "they wanted the land occupied by the nobility, realizing that it had once been their property, and because they wanted Transylvania, and because they viewed themselves as the only legitimate heirs of this land."

The basis and main authors of the 1784 revolution were the forces that were the most dynamic and most attached to the values of national and social freedom and of authentic progress in the interests of the masses--the masses of peasants--and that, for century after century had been the most inveterate enemies of domestic and foreign oppressors, the defense arm, and at the same time, the factor of historic construction on the ancestral soil. Together with and close to the peasantry were the workers, who were in a process of continuous development and assertion in Romanian society. The revolution had a consistent and united leadership; Horea, Closca, and Crisan had been recognized as leaders by all those who participated in the revolution, even in the areas they could not reach, and constituted a genuine general staff.

The revolution was organized on the basis of well-crystallized objectives adopted by the masses. Long before its outbreak Horea, Closca, and Crisan had been disseminating its program. Historical documents attest that between 1765 and 1780 Horea's people had been going from village to village persuading the masses, through historic arguments, of the absolute necessity of the revolution.

The preparation of the revolution highlights its actual links to the other areas of Romania, to Moldavia and Wallachia; this fact also serves to emphasize its significance as a herald of all the Romanian people. One of the attesting documents of the time, a letter written on 3 February 1785 by a Hungarian nobleman of Turda, noted in this respect that the "Romanians had been preparing not just in the past year, but for a long time, slowly, slowly, particularly in the past summer; we see that they were in correspondence with the neighboring countries, Moldavia and Wallachia, from which they expected help. I can write with certainty that as of the beginning of this year, some 30,000 Romanians from Moldavia wanted to invade Trei Scaune through the Ghimes pass."

Following intensive propaganda carried out in Transylvanian localities, a revolutionary state of mind prevailed in the area in the years preceding the outbreak of events. The oppressive socioeconomic situation of the peasantry and workers, the violent national oppression of the Romanians and, against this background, the propaganda organized by the leaders of the revolution explain its rapid spreading. A few days only after its outbreak, a genuine revolutionary army was organized, especially in the Western Mountain Range, an army with a pronounced democratic character. Its social foundation were peasants and workers, who polarized all other exploited social categories around the objectives of the revolution. Peasants (serfs and peasants who

were legally free but economically dependent, Romanian peasants, and Hungarian and German peasants with them), miners, workers from the salt mines, artisans, and so forth fought together. The struggle unity of the broad masses ensured the forcefull assertion of the revolution and the establishment of a popular order and of Romanian democratic authority over a large area for close to 2 months.

The unity of action of the masses was matched by the programatic unity of the revolution. The essence of this program was the Ultimatum sent on 11 November 1784 to the noblemen who had taken refuge in the Deva fortress. This fundamental document of the revolution--the most progressive document of the time not only in Romanian society, but throughout the continent--laid down objectives characteristic of a popular revolution: abolishing the nobility as a class by expropriating its lands and by transferring feudal estates to the peasants, and forcing the nobility into productive work. Thus, the revolution aimed for a different organization of the socioeconomic bases of the society and looked far into the future. During the revolution, after deceitful armistices and clashes with the army, the masses became convinced that there was no point in expecting charity from the Vienna Court; this caused the revolutionary program to become even more closely interwoven with anti-Hapsburg factors. The revolution openly challenged imperial authority and demanded popular Romanian leadership under Horea.

In their endeavors to eliminate the nobility as a class, the masses adopted, as a rule, forms of struggle familiar from previous periods, reinforced through military training of the participants and through the use of firearms. Estates belonging to the nobility were attacked, castles set on fire, and records of feudal obligations burned. In some places, the property of noblemen was democratically distributed among serfs. The revolution also challenged local authorities and the Catholic church--an exploiting feudal institution and an instrument of forced conversion of the Romanians to Catholicism. In some areas, the old, foreign communal administration was replaced and villages were given a civilian organization through the appointment of new, Romanian judges and juryment.

Following the clear-cut victories won by the popular forces against the nobility, Emperor Josep II ordered armed counterrevolutionary intervention, and thus the revolution was suppressed. However, despite the fact that it was thwarted through the force of arms by the military might of the Hapsburg empire, it continued to exercise a fertile influence and to bring about important developments; like any other revolution, its consequences were profound and lasting. Its most important consequence was the patent of 22 August 1785 under which personal servitude was abolished and serfs were granted the right to resettle. Although it did not abolish serfdom as such, this law and other measures adopted after the revolution paved the way for a new stage in the relations between the nobility and the peasantry, in feudal relations, and in the very concept of serfdom. Moreover, the peasantry imparted a revolutionary meaning to the measures taken to improve the condition of the serfs: in some places it achieved a genuine agrarian reform by taking over estates belonging to the nobility and by abolishing serfs' duties for

the duration. Although the authorities took brutal steps against them, the peasants and workers did not give up the struggle in the following years, either, thus posing a permanent threat to the regime of the nobility.

Through its program and gains, the 1784 revolution exercised a particular influence on all other Romanian areas. The conditions that brought about the revolution and that prevailed in the entire Romanian society, its targets and aspirations, and the state of mind of the masses made the revolution into a phenomenon representative for all Romanian regions. Along this line, contemporaries significantly referred to Horea as "Rex Daciae," while Karl Marx later wrote that Horea "planned to liberate his nation," thus becoming "the symbol of Dacia's rebirth."

The wealth of ideas of the 1784 revolution, generated by the creative thinking and aspirations of all the people, was enriched and raised to higher levels by other fundamental moments of action designed to accelerate the evolution of the Romanian society. Thus, 1784 constitutes the beginning of the era of social and national revolutions which marked the road to the establishment of modern Romania because, as Nicolae Balcescu noted, in 1784 Horea had taken up the arms to proclaim the "rights of the Romanian nation and the political and social program of its future revolutions." The continuity of the revolutionary progress begun then helped to preserve, expand, and develop the struggle for the revolutionary, national, and social values asserted in 1784. The objectives it defined and for which it struggled remained a struggle target for all the Romanian people, and were continuously developed and expanded in subsequent periods. In the name of the values that it forged in Romanian history, our people mark the 200th anniversary of the 1784 revolution with profound appreciation, preserving and continuing its heritage, and imparting to this heritage the supreme meaning of their thinking and actions, actions carried out under the leadership of the communist party and aimed at raising the fatherland to new peaks of socialist and communist achievements.

12782

CSO: 2700/23

BOOK ON ORIGIN OF NAME OF PEOPLE, COUNTRY REVIEWED

Cluj-Napoca STEAUA in Romanian Aug 84 pp 11, 35

[Article by Eugen Micu]

[Text] Of course, it is natural that among the words in a language the ones naming the country, the people and the language itself have a totally special place in the thoughts and feelings of those who speak it; they are identity words, symbol-words, the seals and unmistakable witness throughout time to a geographic area, to a specific ethnic, linguistic and spiritual community and reality, to a certain history and, in particular, to the awareness of belonging to it. The Romanians always have had the latter and not without an unhidden feeling of pride. "Et qui regioni Danubii item adiacenti Ripenses Daci sive Valachi, originem, quam se decus prae se refunt predicantque Romanam, loquela ostendant" ("and those Ripensi Dacians or Wallachians from the Danube region proclaim their Roman origin as an honor and they publicize it, which they purposely make clear from their speech."), Flavio Biondo pointed out in 1453 about the Romanians he had met in Rome, recording the rustic Latin nature of their language, expert that he was. Actually, it was the etymology of their name--perhaps above all--which the Romanians themselves were claiming rightfully and decisively. Later, the chronicler, convinced that the great proof of the peoples, what their roots and origin are, the names they have from themselves and from other foreign countries only retranscribed this truth: "their name, which we write about, and that of their countries, the old name and most correct one is Rumân, that is, Rimlean, from Rome."

So that added to what was called the "miracle" of continuity of the Romanians in southeastern Europe as the single heirs of Rome among the foreign peoples is also once again that of being the single preservers of the name of the Roman forefathers among the Romanic peoples. It is at least one of the reasons for which the ethnonym "român" [a Romanian] and the name "România" together with the facts, ideas and aspirations which in time they expressed steadfastly have held the attention of many Romanian and foreign scholars: B. P. Hasdeu, P. Cancu, N. Iorga, Th. Gartner, G. Paris, A. Philippide, S. Puscariu, E. Gamillscheg, C. Tagliavini, I. Iordan, P. P. Panaitescu, E. Coseriu, G. Bonfante, V. Maciu, A. Armbruster, E. Stanescu and so forth. But despite the impressive bibliography until now, controversial, not sufficiently clarified problems and aspects have remained; yet solutions have been imposed and taken over, ones which seemed to combine the most serious arguments.

Solutions which have not always been exact, however, as demonstrated by the recent "philological study" by Vasile Arvinte entitled "Român, Românesc, România" ["A Romanian, Romanian, Romania"] which appeared at the Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishers.

Following many detailed contributions on this subject and following a German version--"Die Rumanen. Ursprung, Volks und Landesnamen " in Tübingen in 1980--the Iasi professor now has made a totally remarkable overall study which is of maximum scientific interest, original in its arguments and examinations, with a strict method and with results which firmly change some ideas and hypotheses accredited as truths. In a research basically connected with the foremost one of the origin of the people and their language, one which has not at times lacked exaggerations or distortions, out of good or bad faith, V. Arvinte proves consummate scientific objectivity. This, as well as the convincing power of some of the arguments and its other qualities, make the work serve more than others to impose certain basic truths, although it does not intend to be polemic. It is one of the most serious lexical monographs in the good tradition of the Iasi linguistic school and--truly attributed even if it seems to be less scientific--one of most attractive ones to appear here in recent years.

The author revives the discussion of some problems--etymology, semantic evolution--on the words "a Romanian" [român] and its family under the sign of Miron Costin's words quoted above with the belief that "A Romanian, Romanian, Romanian" [român, românesc, românește]"had a basic role in the definition, self-definition and preservation of the eastern Roman linguistic community, along the years uniting all members of the linguistic community in the common spiritual image of their maternal language," that is, convinced of the "power of history-creating material language." So the philological study involves necessarily a comprehensive view; the facts are not and could not be just of the history of language, but they are, it is natural for them to be, of political, social and cultural history. In such a broad context, the causes must be found for the preservation of the Latin "Romanus" as an ethnic name only in southeastern Europe or the circumstances in which the geographic name of "România" was established. But in this diachronic view, the language proves to be a factor of capital importance and so the main dimension of the study will be the linguistic one.

Accepting the results of previous research which had recognized among the causes for preserving the Latin "Romanus" as an ethnonym in the southeastern European Romanic community, their need to delimit themselves from the surrounding barbarian populations by name, also, the prestige of the civilization and of the Empire (which the name implies), the close ties with the eastern Roman Empire and even in a way belonging to it, V. Arvinte shades and fills them in. In the evolution of the word "romanus"--from the political meaning of "citizen of the Empire" ("civis romanus," the title of which the Dacian-Thracian-Moesian Romanized community had benefited through Caracalla's edict) up to that of being an ethnic name--and in that same community's perpetuating of the latter, the author points out the special significance which the linguistic aspect must have had: separated from the western Roman world, the southeastern European Romanic community would retain only the second term (and the corresponding reality) from the opposition of "lingua latina" (the cultural language) and "lingua Romana" (the popular language); it would define itself from the neighboring peoples primarily as a linguistic community.

With matters standing in this way and bearing in mind the existence of similar lexical formations, V. Arvinte implies that in order to name the specific modality of the act of speaking, the vocabulary of the popular Latin here must have had the adverb "romanisce" along with the adjective of "romaniscus," with "românește" and "romănesc" being the results of them and not derived on Romanian land, as present explanations go. This justification seems to be convincing to us. On the other hand, the author feels, again with good reason we feel, that contributing to a great extent to the preservation of "romanus" was also the fact that here in the Lower Danube for five or six centuries this community alone would represent Latin Christianity, along with the civilization, empire and Roman language, which became a "true cultural power," hurrying and uniting the Romanization of the natives as in other parts. "Romanus" would now also receive the meaning of "Christian" which the Romanian language has preserved up until now. The language and faith in Latin are among the decisive factors which prevented the Romanians from being assimilated by other peoples.

Whereas nobody for even one moment doubted the origin of "român" by referring to the evidence, discussions did arise in connection with the age of the form "român" (with "o"), with most specialists admitting that--compared to "rumân" (with "u"), the natural "regulated" reflex conforming to the phonetic rules of the Latin "romanus"--it is a later creation, of scholarly origin, imposed on the literary language by the Latinist current. Together with A. Philippide, A. Scriban and E. Stanescu, V. Arvinte believes that like "rumân" and "român," it is a popular, inherited form and, thus, of Latin origin. The most important argument is offered by linguistic geography: On one hand, the existence of the form with "o" in the present dialects in the greater portion of Moldavia and many locations in Muntenia and Dobrogea and, on the other, the data which can be identified in the aromanian [aromân] dialect. What gives importance to the first part of the argument, in particular, is the area (compact) nature which the spread of the form "român" has in Moldavia, an area shaped by the maps of ALR I, ALR II and NALR-Moldavia-Bucovina. Despite the fact that in one part the vowel "o" is not consistently present in all the words of the family of "român" (see the map on p 215), this area remains a fact which cannot be ignored. Nor are the meanings of "barbat," [man], "sot" [husband] and "crestin" [Christian] to be neglected, which the word "român" has in some of today's locations. Yet we cannot forget that this area is opposite to another one, in which the evolution of the Latin *o*a was produced, a more widespread area including part of Muntenia, Oltenia, Banat, Crisana, Maramures and the actual Transylvania; that is, for the most part a powerfully Latinized area recognized as preserving many archaic linguistic facts (among them, partially, is also the feminine of "rumână" which is "românească" < Lat. "romana," compared with the newer form, with the suffix of -că, "românească"). For that reason, perhaps too attached to an opinion well established through the neogrammatical "rule," it is hard for us to reject the general opinion up until now. If eventually we doubt the uninterrupted presence of the word "român" in the Moldavian dialects, we should cite the evidence of that same Miron Costin: "As we see, we do answer to being called Moldavians, but we do not ask 'do you know Moldavian?' but rather 'do you know Romanian?'" or the evidence, closer to our time, of Gh. Asachi, who assures us that just the boyers preferred to be called Moldavians, while the peasants said Romanians" [români]. No doubt the "alternating between 'u' and 'o' is from ancient times and is also alive today at the dialect level" and this aspect of the demonstration would have gained if it had been completed with the comparison of the

spatial spread of the variations (with "o" and "u") of other similar Latin elements, many mentioned by A. Philippide. Even if they are not relevant each time (due, for example, to the analogy with other forms in the paradigm) and even if we are inclined to give the word "român" a separate status, they would have brought a growth in certainty in proving the age and truly mass nature of the variation of the word "român" through the possible preference for the forms of the Moldavian dialects in "o." But, once again, at least that separate status of the word "român" among the words in the language makes us not exclude the probability of a hidden influence, older or newer.

The second part of the argument--the aromanian form of (a)rămă, ingeniously involved in the discussion through the interpretation of the unaccented "a" as resulting from the delabialization of the original "o" (romă)rămă) or eventually from the assimilation of "o-ă)ră-ă"--it seems has more importance (of course, only if we are convinced that the formulation of assimilation of u-ă)ră-ă is to be completely excluded, since the form of "rumă," along with "rămă," is proven in the dialect of those same Farserots.

However, no matter how, the conscious nearing of "român" ("rumă") to its etymological correspondent was produced early, and not just in the Romanian cultural space but, rather, also in the writings of foreign humanists, becoming more and more frequent and insistent. Toward the mid-19th century, the form of "romă" is current at the level of the literary language. The fundamental role in imposing this version; also stressed by V. Arvinte, belongs to the Latinist current. On the other hand, having all Romanians preserve that same ethnic name--from north to south of the Danube--only proves their ethnogenetic unity once again and unquestionably.

Although the geographic name "România" is of a more recent date, its origin is controversial. Philologists and historians have given it many etymologies. V. Arvinte also shows particular interest in it, devoting the most extensive portion of his study to it. It is a well-founded and strict analysis which follows the formation and formal and semantic development of the words, in the broader framework of the system of names of countries in the Romanian language. Completely convincing, the conclusions come naturally in a research in which the facts are established in a remarkable demonstration. The explanation and history of the name "România" find the most important reference point here. A critical linguistic and historical criticism justifiably rejects not only the French origin of the name but also the possibility that it represents a revival of the old Latin "România" or is the individual creation of some foreign scholars (M. Felmer or D. Philippide). The name "România," V. Arvinte convinces us, is a Romanian creation, established and recognized following a winding evolution but also, seen close up, a clear one and with expected results. Fitting into the onomasiologic field to which it belongs, it shows a unique position in the Romanian language: if the other name of countries ending in -ia have their origin in medieval scholarly Latin, the word "România" comes from the name "romă" (romă + the suffix -ie) and was established as a proper name in the decisive historical circumstances in the first half of the 19th Century with the decisive contribution of the generation of 48'ers. What is particularly interesting is the semantic evolution of the noun "romă," in which the meaning of "Romanian language" is decisive and of permanent presence: from the social meaning up to that of "romanism," "Romanian spirit," "the Romanians' national feeling" and,

then "all Romanians" and "the totality of Romanians." Derived from this, the proper name of "România" rapidly broadened its meaning, up to being called the "country of all Romanians," the "national Romanian state," first as an ardent desire and later as a fulfilled reality. In a flawless argument, with a documentation leaving no doubt, going for detail and nuances, V. Arvinte returns a truth of great value. So we see as naturally as possible how the name of the country, created by the Romanians themselves, continually confirms the lively awareness of their historical identity.

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POZDERAC DISCUSSES SITUATION IN LCY, BOSNIA

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 404, 14 Jul 84 pp 10-15, 79

[Interview with Hamdija Pozderac, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and formerly chairman of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, by Zoran Milovic; date and place not specified]

[Text] We now have 2 years behind us since the last meeting of Yugoslav communists, the 12th LCY Congress. We also have behind us more than 4 years of economic crisis, with ever more obvious consequences (and to some extent causes as well) even on the political plane. Recent years have also brought an increasingly open discussion within the League of Communists about itself and about its place and role in the political system, a debate which culminated in the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee. In recent months, on the eve of the actual meeting, and especially in it, quite a bit was said about the key problems which at this point are holding back the LC in performance of its vanguard role: the question of unity/disunity within the LC, the relationship between the base and the party leadership, that is, the functioning of democratic centralism, the place and role of the LC in the political system, the problems of and resistance to implementation of the long-range economic stabilization program, and so on.

We talked with Hamdija Pozderac, until recently chairman of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee and now member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, about this and other matters immediately following the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee.

Hamdija Pozderac was born in January 1924 in Cazin. He is a Muslim by nationality. He joined SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia] in 1940 and the CPY in February 1943. He is a holder of the "1941 Partizan Commemorative Medal." He is a graduate of the Senior Postsecondary Party School in Moscow and of the School of Philosophy at Belgrade University.

During the war and the revolution he held a number of important party and military posts. After the liberation he was a deputy in the Chamber of Education and Culture of the Assembly of SR [Socialist Republic] Bosnia-Hercegovina, and from 1971 to 1978 he was president of the Assembly of SR Bosnia-Hercegovina.

At the 4th Congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC he was elected a member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, and at the 9th LCY Congress he was elected a member of the LCY Presidium from the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC; at the 6th Congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC he was elected a member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee and a member of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, and at the 7th congress a member of the LCY Central Committee from the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC. Since 1979 he has been a member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. During the last term he was chairman of the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, and now he is a member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee.

He is the holder of several decorations, the ZAVNOBiH [Regional Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Bosnia-Hercegovina] award, the nationwide defense and social self-protection medal of SR Bosnia-Hercegovina and other public commendations.

Speaking about negative tendencies during the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, Hamdija Pozderac especially emphasized in his contribution to the discussion the problem of "pragmatism and practicalism," which is manifested as "exclusive confinement to the everyday level and insufficient evidence of the historical movement of the whole and a sense of the future in carrying on everyday practice of socialist self-management," and which is related to an insufficient understanding of two aspects of the principal functioning of the LC's activity in the political system: that it is responsible as a factor in the system for preserving and developing the achievements of the revolution, while at the same time it is also an initiator of change of the status quo, a force for change and progress.

Speaking about the problem of achieving a unified system of associated labor throughout Yugoslavia, our interviewee noted that our ideological effort is being held up by the terminological and conceptual baggage of geographic-ethnic-commercial ideologies on which the opposition and the counterrevolution are building both their strategy and tactics. In addition, our positions, resolutions and decisions have not always provided a good basis for action, since often their content is unclear and incomprehensible, and sometimes it is not evident to whom they pertain nor what forces are counted on in carrying them out. Quite often the conclusions are a paraphrase of all the points raised in the previous discussion, without the necessary selection and evaluation, and they are thus confusing and do not become practical instructions pointing toward action. The reason for this lies in the lack of revolutionary thought in the LC, in the suspicious attitude which segments of the LC have toward theoretical thought in general, and above all in the traditionalist attitude toward the place and role of science in contemporary society, in the failure to understand that today it is a basic productive force par excellence and the foundation for humanity's progress.

Hamdija Pozderac, then, also sees reasons for the strategic ineffectiveness and deadening of the LC's action in the neglect of "advancement and updating of methods and the application of science in seeking answers to the dilemmas of social development." This in turn generates a tendency in the recent

formulation of policy to adopt only relatively sterile orientations in action, without any very profound development of the various theses in terms of political-ideological theory, nor without a full analysis of political-ideological tendencies in society. This approach may have appeared effective, but in actuality it is very ineffective, since it allows the positions and resolutions of the League of Communists to be interpreted in many more different ways, and resolutions which are not defined with sufficient precision do not guarantee autonomous and creative action by party members.

Speaking about the criticism of the LC and the party's reaction to it, Pozderac particularly emphasized that we need "to find in it (the criticism) whatever has constructive pretensions and is inspired by progress," since "nervous, hasty, and typically bureaucratic name-calling and proclaiming even sound criticism to be caviling smothers the surges of social development."

Aside from this range of issues in which attention is centered on the League of Communists, its functioning, and its place and role in society, we also attempted in the interview with Hamdija Pozderac to cover a group of "Bosnia-Hercegovina" issues and problems, as well as some of the particular aspects and problems of the functioning of the political system.

START: It seems to me that the question of the pluralism of interests in self-management and the question of common interest make up the key point at which all our shortcomings are refracted. As a rule the common interest of Yugoslavia is interpreted exclusively as the mechanical summing up of the individual interests, rather than as the basis for unity of the interests of the working class and of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities. Where in your opinion are we led by that "regionalization of interests," that encapsulization--economic, political and cultural?

Pozderac: Although in the present situation, which is in many respects serious and in certain aspects even critical, pronouncedly practical and specific questions are imposed upon us, resolving them one by one, in succession, and taking them up one after another--as experience up to now abundantly confirms--is not yielding the anticipated results. That is, as soon as one question is resolved, another is immediately raised. That is why in every situation, even the most aggravated, we should strive and make additional efforts to clarify events more fully and comprehensively in both theoretical and practical terms and on that basis relate the most specific experiences and solutions more firmly to the most general conceptions and to the entirety of our goals in social development. In that framework we can evaluate the progress, stagnation or retrogression in development of socialist self-management on the basis of those two processes which in my opinion constantly enter into a mutual interdependence. These are the processes of self-management and the development of the basic entities in the system of socialist self-management and the self-management linkage and association of those basic entities. On the one hand there is the process whereby a multitude of entities in the entirety of social labor are constantly becoming more independent, which is a historically inevitable process, while on the other those more independent entities establish linkage and association in broader frameworks in terms of both content and space, whereby an authentic socialist and self-managing community of free

entities is in fact instituted. The figures are too numerous and the numbers too well known for us to illustrate this now in the example of the sphere of labor and production as the principal domain in which this happens. That is, we have two basic flows unceasingly before us: on the one hand dismemberment in the form of degovernmentalization, which is aimed toward achieving greater independence of the producers within the more narrow organizational units in which production relations and basic social relations are directly established, while on the other there are the tendencies toward formation of worker associations in a relationship whereby they have achieved a greater degree of independence, that is, the pooling of labor and capital throughout Yugoslavia. That is the principal context and dialectics of emancipation under our conditions, and it is through those contradictory processes that the framework of human freedom is broadened. That freedom cannot be put in place from above; it must grow up and develop out of the freedom of the principal entities of society and out of their free relationships. Within that framework we have as a society, along with Kardelj, made a breakthrough in conceptions to the idea of the pluralism of interests in self-management, which is actually one of the dimensions whereby the class limits of society and ethnic exclusiveness in society are overcome through socialist self-management. After all, no type of representation, no state, no party--even though it be a worker party as an entity even outside those real and actual relations of free labor--can entirely represent all the potential of society without leaving anything out. That is why I really am deeply convinced that with the pluralism of interests in self-management, both with respect to theory and action, we have arrived at the most fundamental point of departure for stimulating social development as a whole. The question, however, is how much we have been able to take advantage of that point of departure and whether even now we are making sufficient use of it in the right way. At this point I would not portray in detail how the processes I have indicated are taking place. A particular time schedule is taking on ever greater importance within them, since they influence one another, and simultaneously both of them are passing into a higher stage at an ever faster pace. So, although we might all expect that a broader and more comprehensive linkage in all areas, as you have said--from the economy and politics to culture--will again grow to a renewed harmony of overall relations on the basis of self-management at a higher level, the question remains what price we are prepared to pay for that kind of accommodation, for achieving that higher level of relations in our community. It presupposes frustrating every kind of monopolistic position, which is at the same time the most secure basis for comfortable inertia, high costs, low productivity, and indifference toward the ultimate effects of that kind of position for society as a whole.

START: In that kind of situation the question of the role of the LC in society, of its nature as a vanguard, is imposed with all its importance. At the same time, however, numerous problems within the League of Communists itself are also emphasized. In this connection can you present to us how you see the shortcomings and negative phenomena in the life of the League of Communists?

Pozderac: In the context of the existence of a pluralism of interests in self-management, when a conflict of interests occurs, the role of the League of Communists is as a practical matter related to the entire process of reaching self-management accords and social compacts and decisionmaking, and it is

in that area that it performs its role. Political vanguardism appears in that new light as a historically necessary mediation of organized consciousness and political action in the whole of society; the manner of its performance is related above all to a knowledge of the specific interests and possibilities in overcoming contradictions, to a knowledge of conditions in all parts of the broadest social community, to a knowledge of conditions in the world and their effect on our development, an examination of possibilities for the most appropriate inclusion in the international division of labor on an equal economic and political footing. That is the true basis of the vanguard role of the League of Communists here and now and in the future. After all, I think that it is an altogether accurate assessment that the need for political vanguardism exists even when through the conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts high standards are achieved in regulating social relations, precluding the process of politicization of interests, but not including their spontaneous regulation as well. It can even be said that the political vanguardism of the League of Communists in self-management has been most appropriate when it led to such accords, when there were no longer pronounced processes of ideologization, politicization, and ultimately the separation of politics from the direct self-managers, that is, from the direct producers. The point is this, as Kardelj suggested, that politics and ideology are beginning to operate in society in the way that science and art operate, that is, solely through the force of arguments, and the spokesmen of that kind of politics and ideology are the actual leaders in social processes. However, experience shows that this kind of orientation is being clouded over and indeed even threatened by the spread of pragmatic and directivistic improvisations. This inevitably raises the question of whether the need for political vanguardism ever ceases. This is a need that exists in all societies, since political vanguardism is an inherent need of social life in overcoming social contradictions. If we take the view that social development does not spontaneously and necessarily lead toward the optimum solutions, then the guiding role both of the class and the party and also of the consciousness which is grounded in our own socialist social relations is also necessary. Otherwise our development would lose its character as socialist self-management. I think that the basic requirement of this time is that the League of Communists be still more aware of the fact that failure to perform that role opens up space to statist-bureaucratic concepts and practice, that insufficient effectiveness in this area offers arguments on behalf of bureaucratic arbitration on the one hand and to "spontanistic" liberalism on the other. In general the ability of the League of Communists to overcome the contradiction between the leading and managing role which the revolutionary vanguard can have is a precondition for it, as the leading social force, to also overcome the contradiction between the tendencies of socialist self-management and the still pronounced statism in the structure of our development. Although all the institutions of the political system seem to face the same tasks, the LCY is still that institution in the political system which can actually give the most to society in this respect. It must objectively perform that function: after all, otherwise a vacuum comes about which opens the door wide to the operation of uncontrolled factors and ultimately to stagnation, to marking time, and indeed even to retrogression of the social processes of self-management.

START: The thesis of disunity in the League of Communists and at its very summit has emerged rather frequently in public in recent months. What key problems are specifically referred to here and in what way, in your opinion, should those disagreements be overcome? Also, how would you respond to the thesis that the LCY is gradually becoming a confederation of eight republic and provincial organizations which are not always operating in concert at all, although their ideological points of departure are the same?

Pozderac: It is difficult to give a true and exhaustive answer to your question without presenting in brief the basic features of the organization of the League of Communists, which on the one hand is so organized as to be independent in republic and provincial frameworks, and so as to exercise that independence as a function of its responsibility, which is general and universal, for all sociopolitical organizations and communities, for achievement of the equality of the nationalities and ethnic minorities in the Federation, for achieving the unity of the working class and its concrete historical interests. It should be said at this point that the historical interests of the working class are given as a totality of concrete interests, needs and activities which in their entirety lead toward performance of its historical mission, i.e., the achievement of communism. That is why a contradiction does not exist between the concrete relations and the historical relations. After all, the historical relations are not something removed at a great distance. These are the realities in which the League of Communists came into being and in which it is operating today, which makes democratic centralism extremely important as the principle of internal organization. That is, the question of whether the League of Communists functions on the basis of it and whether in so doing it achieves both democracy and socialism is crucial to the question of whether in the internal relations of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia the independence of the leagues of communists of the republics and provinces does in fact represent the basis of democratic and therefore strong and historically grounded unity of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia as a whole, that is, to the question of whether the unity of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is guaranteed and ensured at the same time by the independence of the leagues of communists of the republics and provinces. Along with this fundamental development, which has been unambiguously expressed in the programmatic and congress documents, there has been and still is another ongoing development in the social practice and life of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia which is manifested in the attribution of special and independent significance to the concepts of independence and unity. When those concepts are plucked out and isolated from the essence of the social system and the social position and role of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, within which they are to have a strictly instrumental significance, and when they commence independent life instead of complementary interpenetration and interdependence, they begin to be absolutized in their detached and independent significance, each at the expense of the other. It is in that sense that their relation has often, indeed even too often, developed and is now developing not as a process of expression of the class essence of social and ethnic relations, but as the primacy of one of these determiners of the overall social situation. Here people lose sight of the fact that the life of the nationality is founded on and determined by the class relations within it, as well as the fact that the class, i.e., the proletariat, the workers, do not live in some abstract empty

space, but are operating within the concrete content and paths of development of the national processes of history. In the creation of the institutional foundations of the system, by constitutional determination of the jurisdiction of the sociopolitical communities and by shaping the assembly system on the foundations of the delegate system, the Law on Associated Labor and the like, it is true that we assume a high degree of division of society on the basis of interests in self-management. Starting from that basic point of departure, we were faced with a great dilemma as how to set up the SFRY Assembly. That is why we set up the Federal Chamber as a chamber of associated labor so that the interest of associated labor would be manifested even at the level of the Federation. However, these interests can be the real interests of Yugoslav society only when associated labor establishes linkage throughout Yugoslavia. The delegate from any republic or province in the Federal Chamber is already so subjectively imbued and encircled by his own concrete, real, and indeed even "particular" interests that even in the Federal Assembly he most frequently acts along that line, and that is why it is clear that the real association of labor throughout the entirety of our society and community is the basic prerequisite for effectiveness of the Chamber of Associated Labor, the Federal Chamber. For many analysts of our present situation this kind of condition is above all the result of the operation of the so-called national economies. Without neglecting the importance of the influence of the processes of political independence on the processes of disintegration in the economy (especially since that process has taken on the forms of strengthening the influence of government bodies and agencies on all the relations in society), attention must be called to the fact that the process of disintegration in the economy and in other domains of work does not stop at the borders of the republics and provinces. After all, we confront cases every day where normal business and operating relations are broken off between producers that belong to the same reproductive entity, very often within republic borders, and a decline in the productive power of society as a whole is a consequence. Disintegrations are even taking place within the boundaries of opstinas, indeed even within complex work organizations. That is why it is obvious that the processes of disintegration cannot be explained exclusively in terms of the opposition between "the interests of the nationalities" and the institutional relations established in the Yugoslav Federation. All of this leads to the conclusion that we must seek the deeper roots of these processes and indeed analyze the real social basis of differentiations and relations based on interest. This is undoubtedly one of the main reasons for more rapid integration throughout Yugoslavia.

START: This is also related to the question of democratic centralism in the LC and to improvement of the institution of debate within the party. Are we actually sufficiently nurturing this kind of discussion and "disagreement," or do we at times, because of the sensitivity of a particular official or the organ or forum of the party nip it in the bud?

Pozderac: First about democratic centralism. I could enumerate here a number of aspects in which the problem of the functioning of democratic centralism in the LCY is fully manifested, and a complete inventory of those aspects would indicate two basic causes: a weakening of the role of the working class and its displacement to the margin of social events, and the processes of

federalization within the LC as a whole, that is, the opposed tendencies of integralism, which we are here referring to as federalism. The real content of the real social influence of the working class cannot in my opinion be replaced by any sort of other directive, disciplinary, methodological or organizational influence within the LC and in the other organized subjective forces in our society. I would even say that the opportunities are largely, if not completely, exhausted for social changes to be encouraged along those lines. Viewed in the historical perspective, then, our only true and lasting way out is to respect the historical reality that the working class is that social factor which unifies and generates the motives of economic and social development and the motives for their class and ethnic realization. By comparison with that basic motive, all others are for me less important, since it is the principal lever for overcoming the elements of federalization within the League of Communists itself. In that sense self-management is indubitably a constant challenge to democratize internal relations and the method of operation of the League of Communists, and I would therefore state that aspect of the problem more broadly, since it incorporates both the factors of internal party debates and dialogue and also the dual positions of the League of Communists itself as a factor for maintaining order and as a factor for social change, that is, social functions which in multiparty systems are divided between the function of government and the function of the opposition, and in statist systems are reduced only to the function of government. For me the historical and political purpose for the existence of the League of Communists is to facilitate the optimum development of socialist self-management. For all the justified and truly well-founded demands for faster and broader and constant democratization of relations within the League of Communists, consideration should also be given to the differences between the relations being formed in society and the relations which are established in the revolutionary party. It seems to me that the very way in which we talk about these differences suffer from a lack of analytical differentiation and selectivity, so that certain characteristics of social relations as a whole are attributed to the organizational structure of the League of Communists, and, of course, the reverse is also true. Put differently, the League of Communists is not removing its organizational and structural peculiarity as a self-governing revolutionary vanguard in order to equate its system of organization and activity with the social organization of direct democracy. If by democratization of the League of Communists we mean that internal relations within it ought to be based on the same principles as those governing the activity of the bodies of direct democracy, then it is truly a question why we need a separate revolutionary party of the working class at all. I spoke about the specific modalities in which the dialectics of these relations is manifested at the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee, and it seems to me that it would be unnecessary for me to mention them out of the context in which I presented them in order to illustrate the position that democratic centralism is the key principle which guarantees that the revolutionary party, so long as the need for it exists, will be able to achieve unity of thought and action. The extent to which the League of Communists consistently delimits its own powers from the powers of the bodies of self-management and public bodies, that is, the extent to which it guarantees both the autonomy of action of basic cells of the system and the unity of the system of socialist self-management through action within the system, and the extent to which it avoids the two extremes: activity externally and outside

the system and identification with the system, likewise depends on accuracy in approaching the achievement of that unity. But whenever there is a substitution of those two planes, that is, when the League of Communists operates more on one of them than on the other, then there is a conflict not between democratic centralism, but between bureaucratic centralism and the principle of concluding self-management accords and social compacts. The position of the old and anachronistic activity of the League of Communists then truly reflects the fact that it has not put an end to its position of power, the position of the government party, which only emphasizes the causality of the limited democracy in intraparty relations and the attitude that the League of Communists is the representative of the working class and the system of socialist self-management. This kind of precise statement seemed necessary to me so that I might sketch out the broader social and political background of the second part of your question. After all, the principle of concluding self-management accords and social compacts is not a priori and absolutely democratic, nor is the principle of democratic centralism a priori undemocratic and bureaucratic, nor is this a burden we should free ourselves of as soon as possible, as is alleged. The problem of further democratization of practice and of implementing that principle is, however, an urgent one, and I therefore think that every means is welcome whereby it is enriched and strengthened, and in this discussions are only one part of the problem, for me the smaller part. Certainly we need to strengthen in them those attributes which broaden the limits and possibilities of democracy in our country, since that is the barrier which divides discussions as a method of activating the large untapped potential of society brought together in the League of Communists and around it from the sterile and mediocre analysis which does not move things forward even 1 foot, but does raise a great deal of dust. Debates within the League of Communists and in society if they do not try to prove something outside themselves, outside their meaningful and problematical base, but try to examine real processes and relations and seek solutions to problems. All such discussions, to whatever extent views within them are different and however opposite the solutions, we must support and guarantee the right for thought to be expressed. But then there is no basis for giving independence to the discussion and debate which is supposed to prove whether there is or is not freedom and the like, and would thus serve something else outside itself, i.e., petty political motives. Consequently, social criticism and the contest of opinions must be free and democratic unless we want to stifle the thrusts of social development. We must truly distinguish them from insistence on a "simpler" order of things which reveals a failure to cope with the complexity and contradictoriness of our present moment in history from activity which is really that of an opponent. I agree with you that we sometimes exhibit what we might call official sensitivity to all criticism, even the most well-founded. However, no one in our country is entitled to identify himself with the system, the state, the republic, or the League of Communists; I think that both as a society and as a movement we are mature enough to distinguish such situations. Nervous, hasty and typical bureaucratic name-calling and the proclamation of even sound criticism as caviling stifles the surges of social development. But it is the historical obligation of the League of Communists to facilitate dialogue, however difficult and unpleasant it might be, with all of those--people, ideas and concepts--which are on the line of developing our system of socialist self-management.

START: Today, we have said, the LC, its role and its vanguardism are spoken about more boldly and frankly.... But there is also radical criticism, unfavorable assessments, demands for a "new League of Communists," for a "new vanguardism."... In this connection is it your opinion that the League of Communists has opened up in our working class a vision to the future which is sufficiently revolutionary and attractive and mobilizing so that it will be inspired to make sacrifices and additional efforts in the present phase, especially in view of the urgent economic crisis?

Pozderac: You have done well to note that there is quite a bit of radical criticism, of unfavorable evaluations, of demands for a "new vanguardism," all of which is ultimately brought about by the fact that the League of Communists has not always consistently performed its tasks as the leading social force. In my opinion they are a partial expression of the dissatisfaction with that situation and a quite legitimate expression of the disposition of social strata most affected by that situation, i.e., the working strata of society. As for the extent to which the League of Communists is grounded in the working class, for me we are dealing here with indicators of a situation that has come about haphazardly, a situation of some kind of "social equilibrium" which has been created on a basis outside the system, a basis which is on the other side from our programmatic and ideological commitments. Insufficiently grounded within its class, the League of Communists has not avoided the fate of becoming governmentalized to a certain extent, from which it follows as a derived consequence that the class component is diminished at the expense of the ethnic component. More precise definition is needed here: the concern with the nationality question has objectively been brought about, and therefore is altogether justified, by the fact that we are a multinational community in which inherited relations of ethnic inequality have to be resolved with a class response of socialist community and socialist self-management. Our experiences in this regard unambiguously indicate that we must seek the solutions both for social issues with an ethnic base and social issues related to class in the development of socialist self-managing communities, the political system of socialist self-management and the democracy of self-managing associated labor, which by its nature presupposes every equality, including ethnic equality, and the broadening of all human liberties, including ethnic freedoms. What is more, we have been resolving the nationality question through socialist self-management in that the working class has figured as the hegemon in resolving not only the class issue, but also the nationality issue. This is an opportunity which the working class has, to resolve ethnic relations by resolving class relations. It is a fact that at the last meeting of the LCY Central Committee it was said that the League of Communists was becoming a kind of "party of the nationality." For my part I have already said that it seems to me that it has never ceased to be a "party of the state" among other things and that it still has not sufficiently affirmed its position as a league both as a political party and a political movement. All of this shows the need for it to return more rapidly to the class along all the lines on which it has moved away and is moving away, that is, it must integrate with the class in all those respects which it has not up to now done so. Certainly the League of Communists should not only strive for a worker majority in its membership, but should also adjust the way in which it operates more to the interests and aspirations of the working class. If they are truly to be a

revolutionary force at every moment, the working class and working people, in the complicated system of socioeconomic and political relations which we are building, must independently reveal and affirm those attributes and those currents which express to the greatest degree their interests as a social class and are functionally related to achieving their concrete and historical goals. Which is why the task of the revolutionary vanguard is not only to equip the working class and working people to adopt the revolutionary ideology, but to help them to carry out on their own, in practice, on specific tasks, the ideology, goals and projects of a socialist and self-managing society. I think that precisely that system, as a revolutionary and therefore radical negation of a civilization based on exploitation of man and violence to man, has as a prerequisite the component not of idealization, but of realistic understanding of reality and transcendentalism which takes dissatisfaction with the overall quality of life and funnels it into action. If socialism is the youngest idea of the world, is there any younger, more open and more promising realization of it than the one associated with self-management?

START: In recent years, as the economic crisis has deepened and its consequences on the political plane have developed, we have been witnesses of a more or less organized activity by oppositionist and counterrevolutionary forces. Among them the nationalists are certainly the most dangerous, and their activity in Bosnia-Herzegovina has recently been discussed even in the Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee. Where do all the causes lie of the awakening of nationalism, and what are the specific features of Bosnia-Herzegovina on this plane? What is the role and influence here of the so-called "ethnic intelligentsia"?

Pozderac: I would say first of all that all of the counterrevolutionary tendencies represent an equal danger for the course of our revolution and social development, not because they all have the same effects or sources, but because in essence they all have certain permanent and unified points of support in society. As is well known, the neoliberalistic influence is trying on the basis of our difficulties in reconciling interests to advocate more and more aggressively arguments about the spontaneity and independent flow of social processes, of the free competition of differing interests as the principal prerequisite for resolving social contradictions, of the need to remove political barriers as a condition for the normal course of social development. Nationalists from all structures of society--regardless of nuances--are united in their efforts to prove that ethnic diversity and a community of several nationalities and ethnic minorities require essentially different solutions in regulating their mutual relations than those developed by socialist self-management and the concept of Yugoslav self-management federalism. In essence all those tendencies have the same goal, to dispute the essential characteristics and values of the system of socialist self-management, which ultimately leads to a loss of its identity, independence and sovereignty. Numerous causes--by nature political, economic, cultural and so on--favor an escalation rather than an awakening of nationalism, and certainly their backbone is the view that the interests of the various nationalities and ethnic minorities are opposite and in and of themselves irreconcilable. So, at a time when the question is being raised on the European social and political scene of how to get out of the 20th century, on our underground political scene there is a

probing as to how to go back to the 19th or 18th century by creating isolated political-legal superstructures (beginning with "our own" state and all the way to "our own" League of Communists), that is, to the point where the highest permissible degree of integration with others is seen as their assimilation if not liquidation, in the establishment of a confederation or federation of states. In addition, nationalisms also have a strong economic component. This is all the more pronounced insofar as their essential content is made up of those conceptions and types of practice which transform a man's feeling or need to belong to his nationality into weapons in the struggle to achieve particular egoistic and narrow group interests. Their outstanding spokesmen see the principal precondition for resolving economic problems of "their own" nationalities in the creation of enclosed "national" capacities and markets and, whenever possible, in linkage to anyone "who has an understanding" for their needs, and this person is often sought even outside the Yugoslav economic structure, when there is no economic justification for that. As far as I am concerned, these are all factors which suggest that we must look upon nationalism as a factor that will be with us for quite a long time. Our experience shows that only the ongoing activity of the League of Communists can over the long run resolve these issues and that if forces of a different origin are thrust into that space, the result would be an escalation of nationalism--whether the points of support are the traditional ones of nationalism or groups from certain structures of our society.

START: In the context of the nationalistically oriented tendencies, the problem of Muslim fundamentalism is especially important to Bosnia-Herzegovina. What is the situation after last year's trial of a group of Muslim nationalists?

Pozderac: All nationalisms are equally dangerous to Bosnia-Herzegovina, as they are, incidentally, to all our republics, and that is why the League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina has opposed all forms of nationalistic activity. Pursuant to this basic, strategic orientation, this case of nationalistic escalation has been energetically interdicted, and all those carrying on organized activity in this area have been convicted. Nevertheless, so that I might make the dimensions and real danger of such orientations clearer, I would state what is the ideological basis of activity from pan-Islamic points of departure. The first position would be the doctrine of the "universality and all-inclusiveness" of Islam, i.e., of Islam as an indivisible whole of belief and legislation, results in a conception of the incompatibility of Islam and non-Islamic systems, as well as in the nonexistence of coexistence between Islam and non-Islamic social and political institutions, which in practice means a demand for ethnic purity of Bosnia-Herzegovina and for the organizing of an Islamic state as an expression of the moral concepts of the Islamic religion. The second would be that indication of the linkage between religion and science, between ethics and politics, between the individual and the collective, [undecipherable clause which seems to be incomplete], is only a pretext for the spokesmen of this platform to impart to Islam the value of a global and worldwide thought that can serve as an intermediary, that is, a third alternative, and to impart to the Islamic world the role of a mediating nation. Insistence on the alleged superclass character of the social institutions of Islam, expressed at the political level in conceptions of the state

as a unifying institution and on the economic level in the "production according to abilities and distribution according to piety," indicates that some abstract spiritual community which reconciles social opposites is being offered as the basic element of social regulation. In that perspective the imagined "new society," based on the principles of "Islamic social justice," is clearly indicated as a totalitarian and autocratic society which seems to abolish real social contradictions by reconciling them in religion. It is not difficult to see to what degree this is "new" and to what extent it represents a lack of insight into the fact that it was precisely the one-sided application of the basic Islamic regulations as a dogmatized consciousness, along with a number of other historical reasons, that was one of the causes of the historical lag of the Islamic countries. However, on these and similar ideological foundations an attitude that is aggressive and fanatic has grown up to the effect that any member whatsoever of Islam, in whatever country of the world, is closer to any Islamic believer in our country than the member of another religion or nationality in our country.

START: The trial which was mentioned had various echoes abroad. Even in connection with the Winter Olympics in Sarajevo there were various articles in the foreign media, and the position set forth in the media of certain Islamic countries stood out for their fierceness. Did our country react to these attacks and to the distortion of the real situation?

Pozderac: First of all, there is no need to go abroad. There were reactions within the country, all the way from disputing the justifiability of the verdicts of the court to the position that they should be granted amnesty of all responsibility as people who were expressing their opinions. What they did--not only imagined--instead of brotherhood and unity and ethnic equality of our nationalities and ethnic minorities offering ethnic exclusiveness and enmity, instead of the country's unity on the foundations of self-management federalism they offered separatism inspired by religious fanaticism, and all this against the social system, international position, historical role and existence of our country and the vital interests of its working class and working people and all its nationalities and ethnic minorities--is often forgotten in the consciousness of their strange advocates, if indeed it was ever taken into account. An attempt was made in this way to raise the rights of a small group of people to act in accordance with the dictates of their fanaticism over and above the rights of millions of people to their own present and future. It is less well known that our country reacted to the attacks, taking as its point of departure the identity between the principles upon which its domestic policy and foreign policy are based. It is less well known that certain high dignitaries in the Islamic religious community also reacted in an effort to prevent the interdiction of the activity of this group from being interpreted as repression aimed against the freedom of religious expression.

START: In view of the political situation and activity of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Herzegovina, how would you evaluate the rather frequently repeated arguments about the "Bosnia-Herzegovina type of socialism," which is characterized by a "rule with a strong hand," "undemocratic relations" and the like? How do you explain the fact that these and similar arguments have been cropping up for years, indeed in various places?

Pozderac: Very simply: they all have the same source and inspiration. As to theory they feed on the contesting of socialism as a repressive system sui generis, as a system with pronounced totalitaristic traits which leads to impersonalization and ultimate alienation of man, on the argument of the end of ideology, which is based on the premise that social development has not verified the projections of historical development contained in any well-known ideology, including the Marxist ideology. There are several things one can say concerning these arguments: first, that they have arisen in a liberal consciousness which is convinced that ideology is a form of abstract unempirical logic which leads to violence and terror; and second, in spite of the appearance of scholarliness, they are all inaccurate, every one. The most that can be said of them is that they do not understand the dialectical approach, they prefer an either-or logic: either the multiparty system as the summit of democracy, or the League of Communists as the personification of undemocratic attitudes; either the spontaneity of social development as a synonym of freedom or organization as an instrument of totalitarianism; either forums or freedom. Having long ago equated socialism with bureaucracy, the League of Communists with forums, the forums with repression, policy with unfreedom, their spokesmen have attempted [original reads "shown"] to interpret the consciousness of bourgeois hieroglyphs with astounding persistence and an amazing lack of a feel for analyzing our situation. After all, I doubt that it is correct, measured by the yardstick of this century, to say that it is a way out for us that revolution has been historically rejected and superseded as an anachronism unsuitable to our concrete historical conditions. The League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina has therefore continuously advocated those basic values which represent the foundations of socialist self-management in our society, which concretize self-management as a creative breakthrough from statist relation toward a free community of associated labor. Both because in this struggle it has not shown signs of "understanding" for ambitions fed from bourgeois points of departure, which can help us little or none at all on the road we have chosen in revolutionary collisions, because it has stood consistently aloof from everything that hindered or disrupted the development of self-management, it has long been a target of those who see the way out in every other form of organization, just so it is not self-management. And something else. There was a certain effort, one in which that oppositionist current which calls itself "leftwing" radicalism has been especially active--to describe political life in Bosnia-Hercegovina as especially "harsh," and conducted according to some special criteria and methods. What can be said to this in principle is that neither the principles nor the methods of political life and relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina differ essentially, and that includes its democratic foundations, from those in our other socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces. In that sense such opinions can be described as false and unfounded accusation and as attempts to instill elements of misunderstanding and difference in the action and ideas of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia as a whole. Yet there do exist logical differences in the problems which we confront in Bosnia-Hercegovina and those confronted by our comrades in other socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces. Those differences arise out of the historical and social peculiarities that exist in the development of Bosnia-Hercegovina and out of the need for the action of the League of Communists to be appropriate and based on respect for those differences. And those differences pertain above all to the fact that

Bosnia-Hercegovina is a multinational community and that we defined it in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Constitution as a community of Serbs, Croats and Muslims and other nationalities and ethnic minorities living in it. That specific nature of Bosnia-Hercegovina makes it imperative that the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists pay particular consideration to two factors. First, that it watch vigilantly over the free and equal development and community of our nationalities making up Bosnia-Hercegovina. Second, that it oppose most energetically all, even the slightest, attempts to disrupt that freedom, equality and community in whatever sense and to whatever degree. It might sometimes appear from this circumstance that we in Bosnia-Hercegovina react more harshly and intolerantly to certain things and actions, that we sometimes are clearer and franker in describing and condemning occurrences and those who perpetrate them. But by no means can the conclusion be drawn from this that we are harsher as a whole or that we are conducting some separate policy of our own. Incidentally, this is also shown clearly by all the relevant statistics on political bans, convictions and similar excesses, in which Bosnia-Hercegovina is not a bit different from the others.

START: A short newspaper article on 26 September of last year seems significant; it particularly emphasizes in a report on a meeting of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee that Osman Karabegovic was nominated to be a member of the Council of the Federation. Does this move perhaps signify recognition of the "right to err," or something else? In this connection how in your opinion do we look on that right to make mistakes, either on the part of politicians or on the part of intellectuals? That is, it seems that those who keep silent regularly get on better than those who get involved in discussions and perhaps make some mistake in something.

Pozderac: There is no question whatsoever concerning Osman Karabegovic in the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina and it is not a question of any "rehabilitation." In political life there is a normal process and relationship which arises out of the existence of differences in views on particular issues and a differentiation which are conditioned by history, which come about, develop and disappear as an element of the totality of the political process of development. Of course, when factors which have led to differences and opposition cease to operate, an effort is made to overcome them, and especially in a case involving a meritorious and distinguished member of the LCY and a leader in the revolution and postwar construction such as Osman Karabegovic. Let me add to that that Osman Karabegovic has not behaved differently than in the context described, so that in his behavior and activity he has remained in principle and in the historical context on the positions of the LC and its struggle. What happened is a logical consequence of those facts. Thus what I would call his case cannot be related to situations in which we settle accounts with opposing ideological premises and platforms. That is an altogether different situation, and it is nothing unusual in the League of Communists. As for that famous "right to err," I have the impression that its meaning has always been more pronounced in periods in which the party, that is, the League of Communists, has been taking on higher attributes in its organization and work in conformity with the principles of democratic socialism. We all know of examples from the revolution when commanding officers and commissars were removed for a mistake of any magnitude and in which they were offered

a chance to prove themselves once again through skirmishes and trials in combat. That is why it seems to me that there is also an opportunity for that today, only, of course, not in the form of indifference toward someone's attitude or tolerance toward someone's activity, but in the form of more active communication, a multidirectional flow of ideas and views from the standpoint of achieving our revolution. In that respect I am always on the side of someone who does something, even if he does the wrong thing, someone who is fighting and working, and not on the side of the one who never makes a mistake because he never does anything. In the end I respect him more.

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YUGOSLAVIA

MUHIC DISPUTES VLAJKI ON RADICAL SYSTEMIC TURN

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 12 Oct 84 p 22

[Article by Dr Fuad Muhic: "Who Has Crossed the Rubicon? "]

[Text] The possibility of a broader involvement of foreign capital in the Yugoslav economy which would exceed the present legal ratio of 49:51 to the advantage of the domestic investors has aroused certain controversies whose protagonists are insisting much more on the ideological and political effects of this involvement than on those which are purely economic. The basis of their thought is that the assumed invasion of Western capital would inevitably bring demands for political concessions, that self-management would grow to become just one species of participatory democracy and that in a short period of time we would get into a semi-colonial relationship towards the foreign investors and transnational companies and that very soon nothing would be left of our "vanguard role" in the world of the nonaligned and in general with all those who cannot reconcile themselves to the Soviet or Chinese model of socialism as the only possible one. It was not difficult to guess the final conclusions: we are selling ourselves to the West in an extremely uncertain transaction from whose realization we will not only not improve the economic situation and emerge from the crisis, but (as Dr Luka Markovic asserted last year) will in fact plunge to the level of countries like South Korea, Thailand and the debtor-states of the South American continent. The emotions evoked by this kind of "patriotism" have to a large degree befuddled the power for rational judgment, and once again the LCY has been placed before a fait accompli -- this time before the charge that it has jeopardized the very foundation of the system for a wheedled dollar in order to preserve in the future its position as the "party in power" in collusion with the demon of capitalism, and in exchange has opened the floodgates which up to now have barred the way to the uncontrolled penetration of Western capital.

An article by Dr Emil Vlatkovic entitled "Are We Crossing the Rubicon" (INTERVJU, No 86, 14 Sept 84) demonstrates once again that uncontrolled emotions on such delicate matters do not prove to be the best ally of the scientific approach. E. Vlatkovic has figured on our intellectual scene as the type of the johnny-come-lately "radical critic of everything existing," and that for at least two reasons. His models on the Yugoslav left were saying long before him what he has offered in his article as a compressed compilation of extremely negative judgments of the present situation and the LCY. At the same time, that compilation also includes numerous critical judgments pronounced by intellectuals "close to the LCY," but who in the name of "civil peace" have preferred to see the LCY in a "left-wing bloc of

parties" than as the revolutionary vanguard of society. Finally, one can also recognize in it the ideas of certain responsible figures in the LCY who recently have desired to charm the public as "liberals" and have attacked the party in which they have for decades operated in a manner which has left the uninformed with the impression that they were never in it for a single day, and they have taken pains to extricate themselves elegantly from every responsibility.

We do not know whether Dr E. Vljaki decided upon this compilation in order to acquire an alibi or to achieve the most shocking effect possible by a successive raining of a critic's blows to the solar plexus and chin of sensitive parts of the system. The ordinary reader in fact knew much of this before Vljaki pulled on the critic's boxing gloves and entered upon the public scene: that in our economic policy to date we have had quite a bit of pronounced political voluntarism as the basis for mistaken investment projects, that the working class is still not commanding social reproduction as a whole, that we have major deficiencies in the conduct of personnel policy, that we have not been bypassed even by a moral crisis, which by turning social property into group-owned property is conducive to corruption, economic crimes and other forms of misappropriation, that an ineffective system of social monitoring and control has favored excessive borrowing abroad, and so on and so forth, in short, that our conception of socialist self-management has not been historically achieved as we wished it to be. Not a single one of these observations would be an occasion to criticize Vljaki's article if it were not shot through with the spirit of the conviction that the LCY bears exclusive blame for the crisis situations which have come about. The same line of argument runs through Vljaki as in his models: the LCY has designated the personnel who conducted the policy, and it is therefore responsible for their activity!

The thesis is attractive at first, since its empirical element cannot be denied. Two kinds of conclusions have so far been drawn from this identification of the personnel who made the mistakes with the LCY as a party. The extremist opposition (leftwing, rightwing or simply the two together) have been seeking the LCY's urgent removal and its replacement by one of the "alternatives." The "moderates" on the other hand have advocated (as in fact Vljaki does in his article) "urgent and decisive action on the part of the League of Communists so that in times like these the sound Communist core is differentiated within it so that it can settle accounts uncompromisingly with everything (people, ideas, the present personnel policy) which has led us into this crisis" (quoted from INTERVJU, p 19). Yet both orientations have made that methodological error which since Hegel's time has been called "taking the part for the whole" (pars pro toto). Identifying the LCY as a "party in the great historical sense" (as in this Marxist definition it has proven itself to be regardless of all the tribulations) with groups and individuals who by their practical behavior have facilitated processes of dissolution and disintegration, these critics have at the same time been rejecting the possibility of another identity -- that which would be established between the activity of the LCY and an authentic revolutionary practice. Which is why both solutions (the "radical" and the "moderate") have started out from a common point of origin: that the particular in the LCY (voluntarism, incompetence in the personnel field, groupism, corruption) will always prevail over the general (performance of the leading ideological role in the construction of socialist self-management). The evil destiny is here, and Vljaki sees its fate in a "lack of an ideological

conception which would in practice replace the various day-to-day policies of the individual sociopolitical organizations and other power centers." This lack, according to Vljaki, is disastrous, and it is manifested in the "absolute unacceptability of a further capitalization of our social relations, mixed with ever more pronounced intervention by the government, being portrayed as authentic socialist development." Vljaki's point in this exposition can now be drawn: the LCY is simultaneously the "party in power" and a "pragmatic party," we have lost all our compasses, and we are merely sailing towards those points where the professional party and political apparatus numbering half a million (according to Vljaki) thinks it sees the flickering lighthouse of power, position and privilege, regardless of whether the lights have been lit by superrationalized modern capitalism or some statist establishment in order to lure us aground on dangerous shoals in international waters.

Here is exactly what Vljaki says: "In the context of the dominant capital-relation the LCY would actually be reduced to a conventional political party which would have a privileged status in society, taking up the key positions in the organization of the government while (in essence) it would be serving big foreign capital" (p 19). Ideologues devoted to the LC whose sole purpose is to provide the rationale for the pragmatics of the struggle for power by means of certain categories and to create the appearance of a "theory" (Vljaki's quotes) also figure in all of this. Vljaki will apply to them one of the most unsavory expressions which we have recently had occasion to hear: "the mercenary intelligentsia" -- and that metaphor at the same time rounds out the picture of a political-Mafia alliance between a political organization which is supposed to be revolutionary but is in every respect a usurper and Machiavellian, and a thinking stratum which ought to be distinguished by its critical attitude and ethics, but long ago grew to become a class of people who had sold out and of intellectual hirelings (condottiere).

Thus Vljaki's article in INTERVJU grew into a commonplace piece of pamphleteering whose criticism of the LCY had no methodological point of support with any ideological solidity, unless we mean by this a few trite phrases such as we have become accustomed to read from the pen of some pretentious student or a novice at writing brought up in the school of incoherent radicalism. Vljaki has not presented a single argument to support the thesis of a lasting identity between the practical mistakes in the policy of the LCY and the lack of a strategic conception that would guide the LCY in building socialist self-management. Which is why his criticism remains in the sphere of a subjective indisposition whose principal product is total distrust of the LCY's ability to reestablish that other identity between the intentionality of revolutionary consciousness and the authenticity of the practice that would follow from it.

The inner tension which obviously has long governed Vljaki's manner of thought and the convulsion of disputation had to find points of discharge somewhere, and sought them in criticism of the legislative bill on investments of foreign (Western) capital in our economy. The totality of mistrust of the LCY had to be reflected here in a disbelief that the system is in principle capable of limiting the effects of investment solely to the economic sphere and that the essence of social ownership and self-management will remain untouched. The neurotic nature of Vljaki's rendition even approaches the summit when he exclaims that "taken all

in all, probably the four decades of the revolution have been (from the standpoint of general human emancipation) irrecoverably lost"(!).

Critics of his article (Dr N. Balog and M. Boras M.A.) showed to what extent Vljajki's analysis is defective even from the standpoint of elementary familiarity with the nature of our legal and economic system as soon as it appeared (INTERVJU, No 87, 28 Sept 84). Even though Vljajki will suspect that once again these are "mercenary intellectuals," it would be interesting to hear his answer as to why, for example, he did not know that foreign capital (the foreign capital or government instruments of a foreign person, physical resources or rights on which a value can be put) becomes social property when it is invested in the domestic economy just like all resources which the organization of associated labor acquires through whatever channel; that the investment of foreign capital (regardless of how much) changes nothing in the mode of production, in production relations or in the institutions of self-management; that the foreigner's share in a joint undertaking is not included on the debit side of the country's exchange balance; that the aggregate of foreign persons stands at about one per cent of our investments and that the limit that has been in place up to now was only a boundary line in a business psychology sense which greater interest on the part of foreign capital could be expected to exceed; finally, that joint ventures are a matter of business, not political struggle. But probably Vljajki will concern himself with these matters in a possible discussion with Dr Nikolaj Balog, who in fact raised these points as one who has a consummate knowledge of this problem area.

It is surprising (and indeed a matter of consternation) for us to learn that E. Vljajki, a university professor, political scientist and in any case an established name in the information field, decided upon devastating criticism of the LCY without elementary scientific prerequisites. It is hard to believe that he does not know the differences between optimality [racionalnost] and efficiency [efikasnost] as economic categories, which not only Marx, but even the bourgeois thinkers, showed to be a constructive concomitant function of capital, and the ideologizing function which emerges only where the other side accedes to political concessions. But in view of Vljajki's fundamental premises (a lack of trust in the LCY), perhaps it is no wonder: anyone who sees the LCY as a party which is excessively preoccupied with power at any price will also find substance in Vljajki's fears that ideological treason, accompanied by political capitulation, is on the horizon by way of the capital-relation! A painful judgment in any case, especially coming from a member of the LCY, an intellectual and university professor whose lack of knowledge of the basic arrangements in the framework of our system could be an obstacle to further academic advancement, but by no means an excuse for the serious charges, above all moral and political, of his own party!

Dr Emin Vljajki, professor, has obviously written a poor piece of work, scientifically unfounded and politically untenable, verging on ideological pamphleteering and cheap anti-party propaganda. Whether room will be left for conclusions to the effect that the long-concealed subconsciousness of the malicious critic of everything as it is has broken through in his article or it is a question of a hastiness whose baneful consequences should be placed in the context of a broader additional justification is a matter on which critics of

Vlajki's article have already begun, but on which he himself is also obligated to speak out in public once again. Failing that, Dr E. Vlajki runs the risk of an ideological drowning in that same Rubicon which he set up in his article as the borderline of temptation for the "LCY's capitalistic challenge."

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